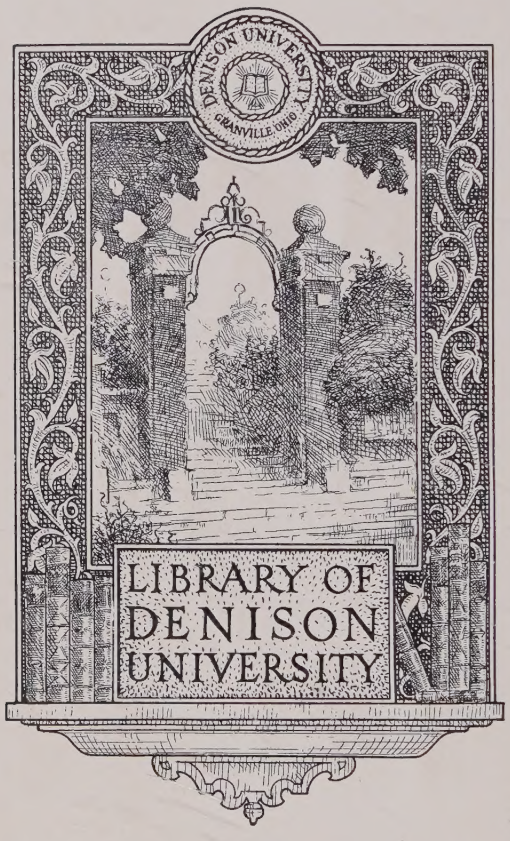
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FROM THE RESTORATION TO THE DEATH OF ANNE

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THE OLD EXCHANGE, KING'S LYNN.

Photo: Chester Vaughan, Acton W

SOCIAL ENGLAND

A Record of the Progress of the People

In Religion, Laws, Learning, Arts, Industry, Commerce, Science, Literature and Manners, from the Earliest Times to the Present Day

EDITED BY

H. D. TRAILL, D.C.L.

SOMETIME FELLOW OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD

AND

J. S. MANN, M.A.

SOMETIME FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, OXFORD

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THE OLD EXCHANGE, KING'S LYNN . . . . . *Frontispiece*

In 1683 Sir John Turner, Kt., who had been three times mayor of the town and for many years one of its representatives in Parliament, erected this building at his own expense, intending it for an exchange. It is described in Chambers's *History of the County of Norfolk* (1829, Vol. I., p. 635) as built of freestone with two orders of columns, the lower Doric, the upper Ionic; in a niche in front of the second floor a statue of Charles II. was placed, and on the platform above an open turret on Corinthian pillars, containing a bell, and surmounted by an obelisk and ball, the whole crowned by a statue of Fame. The total height is ninety feet. Lynn, however, which was one of the chief commercial ports of England in the Middle Ages, seems to have declined very greatly in relative importance during the eighteenth century, though it preserved some trade with Spain and Portugal; otherwise its commerce was merely coastwise. Consequently the building was converted into a custom house, and still serves for that purpose. When Chambers wrote, there had been a considerable revival of the trade of the town, and its shipowners had been, but had almost ceased to be, engaged in the whale fisheries.

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MEETING OF CHARLES II.'S FOURTH PARLIAMENT, 1680 480

From a ballad entitled "Long lookt for come at last," which expresses the hope that traitors will receive their due, no doubt with reference to Danby, Lauderdale, and other unpopular ministers. *Roxburghe Ballads*, ed. Ebsworth (Ballad Society) IV., p. 192.

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On the obverse Charles II., as Hercules, wards off with his hand the Hydra, which is threatened by a hand above armed with thunderbolts. The legend signifies "They shall perish by a stroke of lightning." On the reverse a shepherd watching his flock, with two wolves (Algernon Sidney and Lord William Russell) hanging on a gibbet. The motto, from Virgil, Eclogues I., 6, signifies "God hath given us this repose." The seven heads of the Hydra are those of the Duke of Monmouth, Lord William Russell, Hampden, Algernon Sidney, the Earl of Essex, Lord Howard, and the Devil.

WILLIAM III. LANDING AT BRIXHAM (artist unknown) . . *to face* 482

The date was November 5, 1688, not February 5, 1689, as stated on the picture. "Every incident of the landing as detailed by Macaulay is depicted here" (Law, *Catalogue*).

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THE SEVEN BISHOPS 495

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THE FOUNTAIN COURT, HAMPTON COURT 537

The court is nearly square, 117 ft. by 109 ft., and most probably suggested by some French palace. Law, *Guide to Hampton Court*, p. 173.

THE TWIN TOWERS, ALL SOULS' COLLEGE, OXFORD 538

The North Quadrangle, of which these form part, was designed by Hawksmoor in 1720, but not completed till 1740. The towers are of extreme interest as an adaptation of Gothic architecture to eighteenth century taste.

CASTLE HOWARD, NEAR MALTON, YORKSHIRE 539

Built from designs by Vanbrugh, between 1702 and 1731; the front is 360 ft. long.

STATUES OF MELANCHOLY AND RAVING MADNESS 544

These were placed above the entrance gate of Bethlehem Hospital, then in Moorfields, in 1680, and are said to have represented patients in that asylum, one of whom had been porter to Oliver Cromwell (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*).

VESTRY OF ST. LAWRENCE JEWRY, SHOWING CARVING BY GRINLING GIBBONS 545

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A rose on some of the silver crowns of 1662 indicates that the silver came from the West of England mines. The shields are those of the four kingdoms, England, Scotland, France, and Ireland. The Petition Crown (*see* text) was intended by Simon for comparison with the crown of 1662, and bears on its edge an appeal to the king to "compare this tryall piece with the Dutch, and if more truly drawn and embossed, more gracefully ordered and more accurately engraven, to relieve him" (Simon). The copper halfpenny and farthing of 1672 were the first copper coins issued by the Mint, the previous halfpence and farthings being tradesmen's tokens. The elephant-and-castle appears on some of the guineas and half-guineas of James II. and the following reign.

WESTMINSTER CHOIR-MEN 549

CHOIR-MEN OF THE CHAPEL ROYAL 549

STRINGED INSTRUMENTS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY . . . 551

The cittern (1), or citole, usually had four pairs of wire strings, which were plucked with a plectrum, like the now popular mandoline. The theorboe lute—the present specimen (5), by Mattje Hoffmann of Antwerp, 1619—was employed as an accompaniment to the voice, while the pandurina, or little lute (3), was used for melody, the large bass lute (chittarone, 2) being reserved for orchestral purposes. These instruments were superseded in the next century by the guitar, which first appeared in Spain, probably under Moorish influence. The *gittern*, as it was then called (4), was furnished with five pairs of double strings instead of six single strings, and was sometimes played with a bow (Rev. F. W. Galpin).

THE HON. ROBERT BOYLE (by Friedrich Kerseboom) 553

ELIAS ASHMOLE 554

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REMAINS OF THE DODO, FROM TRADESCANT'S COLLECTION . . . 555

A stuffed dodo was part of Tradescant's collection, and passed with his other rarities to the Ashmolean Museum, but had to be destroyed in 1755; the head and right foot, however, were preserved.

NEWTON, BY ROUBILLAC 557

NEWTON'S SCHOOLROOM, THE KING'S SCHOOL, GRANTHAM . . . 559

The school was founded by Bishop Fox in 1525, and reorganised under Edward III.; the room has been but little altered since Newton was a boy there.

RALPH CUDWORTH 561

TITLE-PAGE TO GLANVILL'S "SADDUCISMUS TRIUMPHATUS" . . . 563

The book, as is indicated by its title "Sadducee-ism Vanquished" ("The Sadducees say that there is neither angel nor spirit"), professes to adduce evidence of the possibility and actual existence of witchcraft and apparitions. The book contains, *inter alia*, the well-known story of the Drummer of Tedworth.

FELL, DOLBEN, AND ALLESTREE (by Sir Peter Lely) 565

This picture commemorates the loyalty of these three divines to the Church of England in privately maintaining its services and administering the Sacraments according to its liturgy at Beam Hall, Oxford, in defiance of the prohibition. Dolben, who became Archbishop of York in 1666, is in the centre, Fell on the right, Allestree on the left.

THE SHELDONIAN THEATRE, OXFORD 568

An imitation of ancient theatres, and one of Wren's earliest and best works. It is internally 80 ft. by 70 ft. Here, of course, is held the Encænia or Commemoration of Founders and Benefactors in June of each year.

STATUE OF JAMES II., UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, OXFORD 569

Given to the College by Dr. Obadiah Walker, its Master from 1676 till his expulsion after the Revolution. He had become a Roman Catholic, and caused Mass to be celebrated in the college.

COURT OF CLARE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE 573

110 ft. by 150 ft. The hall is on the spectator's left, King's College Chapel behind on the right. The college was rebuilt between 1635 and 1656; the designer is unknown. *See* text of this volume, p. 92.

BUST OF ISAAC BARROW 575

GEORGE BULL, BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S 577

ANDREW MARVELL 579

By Adrian Hannemann; reproduced in Dr. Grosart's edition.

BUST OF JOHN MILTON 581

Left to Christ's College by John Disney, who died in 1816. The artist is said to have been one Pierce, who executed a bust of Wren now in the Bodleian, and the face to have been a plaster cast from the original mould (Mr. Leslie Stephen in *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*).

HUDIBRAS AND RALPHO IN THE STOCKS 584

Hudibras, Part II., Canto I., lines 77 *seq.* Hudibras and his squire Ralpho, being worsted in their attack on the enchanted castle of

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Crowdero, are placed in the stocks, and visited by the widow, with her usher and waiting-maid.

SAMUEL BUTLER, AUTHOR OF "HUDIBRAS" (by Sir P. Lely) . . 585

JOHN BUNYAN, BY THOMAS SADLER 587

Regarded as one of the best of Sadler's works; the original of a well-known mezzotint.

MR. BADMAN BREAKS HIS LEG 588

Riding home after a drinking bout, he was thrown from his horse; at first he swore, then he grew alarmed, and prayed; but "when his pain was gone and he had got hopes of mending, even before he could go abroad, he cast off prayer and began his old game, to wit, to be as bad as he was before."

CHRISTIAN KNOCKING AT THE GATE 589

After his deviation from the way on the advice of Mr. Worldly Wiseman.

BEDFORD GAOL AND BRIDGE 590

Compare the illustration of St. Ives bridge, Vol. II., p. 353. The gaol was originally a chapel. Francis Perry, the artist, died in 1765.

JOHN DRYDEN (by Sir Godfrey Kneller) 593

One of the famous portraits of members of the Kitcat Club, founded *temp.* James II., which originally met at a tavern kept by Christopher Catling in Shire Lane, near Temple Bar, and consisted of Whig politicians and men of letters. Eventually Jacob Tonson, the bookseller, and a member, built a dining room for the club at his house at Barn Elms, Barnes, and hung it with their portraits by Kneller; as it was too low for half-lengths, the artist devised this special size. The portraits are now at Bayfordbury, Herts, in the possession of Mr. Clinton Baker, a descendant of Tonson.

BUST OF JOHN DRYDEN, WESTMINSTER ABBEY 598

ILLUSTRATION TO APHRA BEHN'S "PERJURED BEAUTY" 599

The fair Ardelia, who has already jilted one lover, and caused his death at the hands of his best friend Don Henrique, retires into a convent. Repenting, she prepares to escape, but with Don Henrique's enemy Don Sebastian. Don Henrique, however, is warned by Don Sebastian's self-sacrificing sister Elvira (whom he has jilted, and who is a nun in the same convent), and arrives in time to intercept Ardelia. Don Sebastian strikes at him, but kills her: the rivals kill each other, and the "injured and neglected Elvira, whose Piety designed quite contrary effects," is seized with fever and dies within twenty-four hours, "with all the happy Symptoms of a departing Saint."

PLAN FOR LAYING OUT A FARM 603

Hartlib also gave a rectangular scheme in the same work.

EARLY AGRICULTURAL MACHINERY, FROM DESIGNS BY PLATTES . . 605

The machine in the distance is devised for grubbing up tree-stumps. The sowing drill is Worlidge's improvement on Plattes's design. A furrow is cut of any desired depth by a movable coulter (not well shown) descending in front of the curved spout which points forwards and conveys the seed from the hopper. The flow of seed into the furrow is regulated by a small wooden wheel in the neck of the

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hopper, edged with leather and driven by the two small solid connected wheels, which communicate motion to it from the back wheels of the vehicle. The iron rod, bent to avoid the hopper, serves as steering gear; the handles behind are to lift the machine when it is necessary to turn. The seed, of course, only runs when the machine is moving, and the small wheel in the neck of the hopper is thereby rotated. "One horse and man may work the instrument, and sow land as fast as, or faster than, six horses can plough."

SAWMILL 606

Described as "the Norway engine to be moved with the force of water or of wind." The wood is drawn on against the saws by the weights.

BORING AND SHAPING MILL 607

"For the more facile perforation and boring of lumber to make pipes and aqueducts, and the excavating of columns." It was used in Switzerland, and Evelyn suggested its introduction, with improvements, into England.

CHARCOAL BURNING 609

The wood to be converted into charcoal is built up round a pole 9 feet high, being closely stacked except near the centre, where the wood is arranged in triangles to provide space for fuel and air, as shown in the centre drawing. The stack is then covered with earth and turf (drawing on left), the pole pulled up, and burning charcoal thrown down the cavity, and vent holes for the smoke are made from time to time (as shown on the right). The heap may burn for six days and cool for three.

BIRMINGHAM IN 1656. 611

The drawing was executed by Hollar for the first edition of Dugdale's *Warwickshire*, published in 1656; it is here reproduced from the edition of 1730.

THE EXCHANGE AND GUILDHALL, NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE 612

Rebuilt in 1655 from designs by Robert Trollop, of York; refronted and modernised in 1796 and 1809.

ALLEGED MALPRACTICES AT NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE 613

These are appended by Gardiner (*see* text) to his summaries of evidence given before the Committee of Trade and Corporations at Whitehall in 1653, when it investigated Gardiner's charges against the Corporation of Newcastle. He states that preparations were made to draft an Act remedying the abuses complained of. The uppermost illustration represents two seizures of tobacco, and in one case of the owner with the horses which were carrying it away from the town, from John Williamson, of Broughton, Cumberland, and Isabel Orde respectively, on the ground that it was "foreign bought and foreign sold." The Corporation officers refused to restore it even under a judge's order. In the centre illustration a ship is shown on a rock near Tynemouth Castle; the master applied to "an antient ship's carpenter," William Cliff, of North Shields, to get her off—Newcastle being too far off and the charges of the ship-carpenters of the town notoriously exorbitant. Cliff, with his three men, got the ship off and beached her, and left his wife and married daughter, Anne Wallice, to superintend the repairs. The Mayor of Newcastle, however, meantime sent two serjeants, with several "free carpenters" of Newcastle, to arrest Cliff's workmen for touching the ship, as it was claimed that the privileges of the Newcastle carpenters extended to Tynemouth. On the women remonstrating, one serjeant knocked

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down Ann Cliff "by several blows on her body and head," so that she died a few weeks later; the other broke Anne Wallice's arm. Cliff and the men were imprisoned and forced to give bond never to work again. The third illustration is appended to a statement that ship-masters arriving at Newcastle are required to swear before the Mayor that they have not cast ballast "at sea between Sowter and Hartley or within 14 fathom water, to the hurt of the river Tyne." When the master has sworn that he has not, evidence is produced that he did, and he is condemned to pay £5, "or else to cut a purse which hangeth in the Town Chamber, with sand and money in it," and to pay the equivalent of what is in the purse, under pain of imprisonment. Nothing apparently came of this investigation, as the charters and privileges of the town were confirmed by Charles II. in 1664.

A Scold 614

Appended to a statement in the same work by a witness from Ipswich, that he saw one Ann Bidlestone "drove through the streets by an officer" of the Newcastle Corporation, who held a rope fastened to the branks, "which is like a crown, it being of iron," and had "a great tongue of iron forced into her mouth, which forced the blood out," and that this was the usual punishment for scolds in Newcastle, while drunkards were driven up and down the streets with a barrel in place of their clothing. The description, and the condemnation which follows—Gardiner says the legal punishment for scolds is ducking in a ducking-stool—imply that the branks were not in use in the South of England.

Ancient Implements for the manufacture of Salt 619

Nos. 6 and 7, on the right of the illustration, are antique leaden pans, used in Northwich in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, or earlier; they were found in excavating in that town about 1882. A two-foot rule is placed perpendicularly across No. 7 to serve as a standard of size. The smaller pans were generally worked in ranges of six; the larger in ranges of four or six. No. 4 is a wooden trough used to receive the brine as brought from the springs until it was required in the pans, to which it was transmitted by the spout below (No. 12). No. 3 is a broken piece of No. 4. Nos. 1 and 2 are models of baskets or "barrows" used in the sixteenth century to drain (roughly) and mould the salt when taken from the pans; the smaller one produced a lump of 3 lb. weight; these were made chiefly for the London market. These baskets were superseded in the course of the eighteenth century by wooden tubs of similar shape, used for a light, flaky salt for dairying purposes, and by the oblong wooden moulds now used for the lump salt of commerce. No. 9 is a copper patch used for covering the drain-hole in the bottom of a cistern or pan. Nos. 9 and 10 are antique wooden raker-heads used for scraping up the salt in the pans, and No. 11 a wooden scoop for taking it out. No. 5 consists of two cores from deep borings made near Northwich about 1892. For this information the Editor is indebted to Mr. E. T. Ward, C.E., of Northwich.

Medal commemorating Morland's Pumping Engine 620

Both obverse and reverse show the engine (possibly conventionalised). On the obverse is a ship in full sail, on the reverse are rain-clouds. The mottoes signify respectively "The waters and fire accord" and "Art rivalling the sky." Sir Samuel Morland made "water engines" and pumps, the former an improvement on the machine of Cyprian Lucar (1590), and brought water from Blackmoor Park, near Winkfield, to the top of Windsor Castle. *Medallic Illustrations*, Vol. I. (Charles II.), No. 279. Cyprian Lucar's engine,

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figured in his "Lucarsolace," 1590, consisted substantially of a funnel into which water was poured through an opening at the side, and then compressed by a screw so as to be squirted through the small end, *e.g.* at a house on fire.

SATIRE ON PATENTEES (by W. Hollar) 624

The patentee has screws for legs and hooks, carrying money bags, for fingers, and holds monopolist privileges for tobacco, wine, rags, soap, and other articles. Below are verses referring to the abolition of monopolies by Parliament in 1624. Clearly no amount of pamphleteering could have revived many of them at this period.

AMBASSADORS FROM BANTAM, 1682 625

A factory had been established by Lancaster at Bantam in Java in 1602 (*cf.* text, p. 71). After this embassy had left, the son of the King of Bantam, acting under Dutch influence, rebelled against his father, and seized the East India Company's factory, which they were unable to recover. Bruce, *Annals of the East India Company* (1810), I., 152, III., 473, 492.

THE OLD EAST INDIA HOUSE IN 1648 626

This house was probably in Leadenhall Street, on part of the site of the subsequent East India House, built in 1726, and refronted and enlarged in 1799.

SIR JOSIAH CHILD 627

SIR WILLIAM PETTY 628

SURGICAL INSTRUMENTS 631

Woodall's "Surgeon's Mate" was first published in 1617, and republished in 1639 and 1655. The instruments shown are "those most useful for amputations in the sphacelated [mortified] part," and include an iron for cautery.

BIHAM OR BEAM HALL, OXFORD 633

Now a tutor's house attached to Corpus Christi College; noteworthy as one of the places where service according to the use of the Church of England was performed when forbidden under the Commonwealth and Protectorate. *See* above, note on p. 565.

THOMAS WILLIS 634

THOMAS SYDENHAM, M.D., BY MARY BEALE 635

TOUCH-PIECE FOR THE KING'S EVIL 636

It bears the royal title, abbreviated, and a motto signifying "To God alone the glory." The hole is for a ribbon to suspend it about the neck of the person touched. For the ceremony, *see* Macaulay, *History of England*, II.

A SURVEY OF NEWINGTON IN 1670 639

On oaken panels; the road running diagonally across the lower right-hand corner, called "Blackmore Street," subsequently Blackman Street, is now the Borough High Street. Trinity Street meets the Old Kent Road not far from the "Cuckoo Field." The arms are those of Trinity House, which is also represented by the buoy in the design at the top right-hand corner.

MEMORIALS OF THE PLAGUE AT EYAM, DERBYSHIRE 643

The infection was conveyed to Eyam from London in a box of clothes sent by a tailor in September, 1665. Some of the inhabitants

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fied; but the rector of the parish, William Mompesson, bravely remained at his post. He was aided by the former rector, William Stanley, who had been deprived for nonconformity at the Restoration. Those who remained bound themselves to keep within the parish, and arrangements were made with neighbouring parishes for the periodical placing of food at certain spots whence it could be fetched by the villagers. The plague abated during the winter, but broke out again in spring, and eventually the church was closed for fear of infection, and services were held in "Cucklet Church"—a dell now much overgrown, from the archway of which the rector addressed his people. Mrs. Mompesson died in August, 1666, at the worst period of the plague, when also seven members of the Hancock family, whose graves are still shown, died within seven days. The last death was on October 11, 1666. A full account is given in W. Wood's *History and Antiquities of Eyam*, 4th ed., 1865.

BETHLEHEM HOSPITAL 644

Founded as "the Priory of the Star of Bethlehem" by Simon Fitzmary, Sheriff of London, 1246, it became known as a public hospital for lunatics before the dissolution of the monasteries, and after that event became the property of the Corporation of London. In 1675 the building shown was erected on the south side of Moorfields, at a little distance from the original site, and the establishment was removed to Southwark in 1812.

THE EFFECT OF THE GREAT FIRE OF 1666 645

The fire began in Pudding Lane, near Eastcheap, on September 2, 1666, and in four days "consumed every part of this noble city within the walls, except what lies within a line drawn from the north part of Coleman Street, and just to the south-west of Leadenhall, and from thence to the Tower. Its ravages were also extended without the walls, to the west, as far as Fetter Lane and the Temple. As it began in Pudding Lane, so it ended in Smithfield at Pye Corner" (Pennant, *London*, ed. 1793, p. 345).

TRADES OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY 649

Randle Holme, whose father, grandfather, and son were, like himself, genealogists, added largely to a collection made by them of heraldic and genealogical MSS., now forming part of the Harleian Collection in the British Museum. The drawings shown are taken from his work, "The Academy of Armoury, or a Storehouse of Armoury and Blazon containing the several variety of created beings and how borne in coats of arms both foreign and domestic, with the instruments used in all Trades and Sciences, together with their terms of art." Those figured in the section of a page here shown are: No. 36, Upholsterer; 37, Embroiderer; 38, 39, Joiners; 40, Chandler; 41, Fisherman; 42, Angler; 44, Brewers; 45, Vegetable Hawker; 46, Bowyer; 47, Stringer; 48, Flax Dresser; 49, Weaver; 50, Cooper; 51, Carpenter; 53, Labourer; 54, Potter; 55, Ropemaker; 56, Printer; 57, Barber; 58, Maker of Felt Hats; 59, Astronomer or Astrologer.

GRADES OF SOCIETY IN 1670 651

From an account of the funeral of George Monk, Duke of Albemarle, by F. Sandford, Lancaster Herald.

THE COUNTRY ROUND CAMBRIDGE, SHOWING OPEN FIELDS . . . 653

For these fields, which indicate how largely the urban population in the Middle Ages was engaged in agriculture (*cf.* Vol. I., p. 642), *see* F. W. Maitland, *Township and Borough*.

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THE PEDLAR'S LAMENT 655

From a ballad lamenting the hard times for pedlars and "petty chapmen" and the decay of trade, and asking for custom since "To buy a new licence your money I crave."

ELIZABETH HAMILTON, COMTESSE DE GRAMMONT . . . *to face* 656

The finest of the series of "Beauties of Charles II.'s Court," painted by Sir Peter Lely. Miss Hamilton, a granddaughter of the first Earl of Abercorn, received great attention from the Duke of York, refused the Duke of Richmond and several other exalted suitors, but married Philibert, Comte de Grammont, in 1663, and left England the following year for France, but frequently revisited her native country (Law, *Catalogue of the Pictures at Hampton Court*). According to a story current at the time, the marriage was forced on by her brothers, who followed the Count to Dover, and asked him if he had not forgotten something. He promptly replied that he had forgotten to marry their sister, and returned to repair the omission. She is described as of exceptional beauty and intelligence.

THE STAGE ABOUT 1670 657

The stage is that of the Red Bull Theatre, and the figures are Falstaff and Dame Quickly (the hostess); Clause, in "Beggar's Bush"; the French dancing master in the Duke of Newcastle's "Variety"; the Changeling, from Middleton's tragedy of that name; the Clown, from Green's "Tu Quoque"; and the Simpleton, in Coxe's "Diana and Actaeon." The costume of the two Shakespearian characters is that of the time of Charles II., not of Henry V. (Planché, *History of Costume*, I., p. 402.) The gallery at the back of the stage precludes scenery.

THE ROAD FROM LONDON TO BRENTFORD 660

From Ogilby's "Britannia": a road book, consisting of elaborate descriptions of the main roads from London, with notices of junctions, and illustrated by "a century of copper sculps."

ST. JAMES'S PARK AND PALACE IN 1689 (Crace Collection) . . . 661

COMPANY AT A COFFEE HOUSE, 1688 (from a jest-book) . . . 663

DOCKWRA'S POSTMARKS 664

The side marks show the time of the despatch; the central mark is that of the chief post office in Lime Street, each office having a distinguishing letter. To the Inns of Court there were ten or twelve despatches daily; to other places from four to eight. With letters to be sent by carrier or stage coach, 2d. extra was enclosed for the driver. Money could be sent in sealed packages, the exact sum being stated on the cover (De Laune, *Present State of London*, 1681).

A CAVALIER; AN OLIVERIAN 665

Reproduced in a book of costume of the early nineteenth century from contemporary originals.

A LADY BUYING SHOES (by W. Hollar) 667

CITIZENS AT A TAVERN, 1680 669

From a ballad lamenting the wiles of landladies of taverns, and entitled "Tobie's Experience Explained."

CORONATION FEAST OF JAMES II. (April 23, 1685) 671

The dinner lasted from five to about seven. Besides the royal party of about 12 at the high table, the guests comprised 98 peers,

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64 peeresses, 32 Barons of the Cinque Ports, the two archbishops, 12 bishops, 12 judges, the attorney- and solicitor-general, the mayor, aldermen, and 12 principal citizens of London, heralds and pursuivants, 12 serjeants-at-law, and 18 masters or clerks in chancery —in all about 300. Buffets are placed at the sides of the hall. The champion (Sir Charles Dymoke) is seen on horseback making his challenge to anyone who questions the king's title. The tables are loaded with cold dishes and sweetmeats, though seventy-six hot dishes (in two courses) were served at the royal table alone. The *plats* included stags' tongues, turkey chicks, ortolans, puffins, pheasant, partridge pie (in April!), periwinkles, crabs, morels, (English truffles), caviar, olives, cold mince pie, "spinage tart," "salads of all kinds," and mangoes. Each table had a different *menu*. Sandford, *Coronation of James II.*, 1687.

TUNBRIDGE WELLS ABOUT 1700 (by Kip; *see* text) 673

THE SCHOALE INN, NORFOLK, BUILT IN 1655 675

Schoale [Scole] is near Diss. The inn still exists, and formerly possessed a bed even larger than that of Ware (Vol. III., p. 184).

THE DUKE OF ALBEMARLE'S WATERMEN AND MASTER OF THE BARGE 677

THE PLAYGROUND.—THE SCHOOLROOM (*see* note on illustration, p. 177) 679

OBERWESEL, ON THE RHINE (by Hollar) 681

The Rhine was part of the "Grand Tour."

SATIRE ON THE RESTORATION OF EPISCOPACY 683

The "unwelcome hands" of two bishops in lawn sleeves try to remove the light of the Word of God, which is defended by two laymen.

JOHN GRAHAM OF CLAVERHOUSE (by Sir Peter Lely) 685

THE MAIDEN 686

An anticipation of the guillotine: among those beheaded by it were the Regent Morton in 1581, President Spottiswoode in 1645, the Marquis of Argyll in 1661, and the Earl of Argyll in 1685.

LADY GRIZEL BAILLIE'S LANTERN 687

Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth [1641–1724], created Earl of Marchmont in 1696, had been concerned in Argyll's expedition to Scotland after the death of James II., and on its failure had been constrained to conceal himself in a burial vault under Polwarth Church. A bed and bedclothes were conveyed there from the house, and his daughter Grizel (afterwards Baillie) brought him food and drink nightly at midnight, returning home before daybreak (Wodrow, *Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*, ed. Burn, IV., 505).

TOBACCO PIPES 688

DRUMLANRIG CASTLE 689

At Durisdeer, Dumfriesshire: a seat of the Duke of Buccleuch; built by the first Duke of Queensberry, who, however, only passed one night in it, finding it too remote from medical advice (he was ill); restored about 1830.

ARCHBISHOP SHARP (by Sir Peter Lely) 690

GLASGOW AT THE END OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY 691

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MODEL OF THUMBSCREWS.—INSTRUMENTS OF TORTURE . . 692, 695

Torture, though illegal at common law in England, was applied by order of the Crown or Council, or by special tribunals like the Star Chamber, down to 1640. In Scotland it was only abolished by statute in 1708, and was used by the Duke of York (*see* p. 686).

WILLIAM III. (by Van Wyck) 697

SEAL OF WILLIAM AND MARY 699

The design is derived from that of Philip and Mary. The shield of the Royal Arms on the obverse bears a lion rampant for Nassau. On the obverse, a distant view of London and the Thames.

CELEBRATION OF THE CAPTURE OF NAMUR, 1695 701

Verses accompanying the print indicate that the lion is Louis XIV., who aimed at universal monarchy; William III., "Our Royal Cock," has awakened him. In the foreground, the Gallic cock skulks away beaten, followed by three hens. The device above may represent the supremacy aimed at by Louis XIV., and claimed in the verses for William III. thenceforward.

THE KENTISH PETITIONERS (by R. White) 702

The petition, signed by the deputy-lieutenants, magistrates, and grand jurors of Kent, was a protest against the peace policy of the Tories, and desired that Parliament should vote supplies instead of passing loyal addresses. It was voted insolent and seditious, and the presenters were imprisoned by order of the Commons.

ANNE AND HER SON WILLIAM 703

SIDNEY, EARL OF GODOLPHIN 704

JOHN CHURCHILL, DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH 705

THE MAGIC LANTERN 707

Charles II. of Spain, in view of the First Partition Treaty, was frightened by the Church into bequeathing his dominions entire to the Prince of Bavaria. The supposed vision exhibits the reward awaiting his adviser, who feigns alarm.

A COALITION AGAINST LOUIS XIV. 708

The etching represents an assembly of animals gathered about a lion (William III.) to complain of the tiger (Louis XIV.). Probably the elephant is Germany, the bear Sweden, the eagle with the sceptre Austria, the unicorn England, the griffin Savoy, the paradise bird Portugal; the cat represents the Dutch people, the eagle the empire. The lion finally proposes to call the tiger for trial before the tribunal of Themis (justice).

A KING AND HIS MAKER 709

A Dutch print by Romeyn de Hooghe, satirising the proclamation by Louis XIV. of the Duke of Anjou as Philip V. of Spain in Paris, before he started for Madrid. The proclamation was followed by the war of the Spanish Succession, in which England and Holland were arrayed against France. The print is entitled "Nebuchadnezzar's Statue exhibited at Versailles in order to its Erection at Madrid." Its points are explained (in the accompanying text) in a conversation among the members of the group in the foreground on the left, a French Academician, a lady of the French Court, and a German painter (a "Bendvogel," or member of the Society of German Artists at Rome). The statue is that of Nebuchadnezzar; it is surrounded by the four Christian and four heroic virtues—Religion, Piety, Wisdom, Holiness; Courage, Justice, Constancy, Liberality; surmounted by the Midday Sun (Louis XIV.), the Creator of Kings; at his feet

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are the puppet monarchs of Poland, Spain, Britain, and Austria; and at the sound of a trumpet all princes are to fall down and worship. But on looking closer it is seen that the virtues are only French courtiers—La Vallière, Mecklenbourg, Ventadour, Montespan, Maintenon, York; that the sun above is in eclipse; and that the statue's mouth is shut because it must not show its teeth. (*Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires in the British Museum*, II., No. 1371.)

SATIRE ON THE PEACE OF UTRECHT 711

A modification, for the English market, of a print representing Dutch feeling against the Peace of Utrecht, 1712, alleged to be due to French influence, and to be disgraceful for England. France holds to the grindstone the nose of a "Tory," described in the accompanying text as "pacificateur outremarin," and identified either with the Bishop of Bristol or the Earl of Strafford; Queen Anne turns it; Marlborough ("Wigh" *i.e.* Whig) protests; Louis XIV., grandfather of Philip of Spain, sits at the spectator's extreme left, and talks to Mme. de Maintenon; before him are Père la Chaise, in Oriental costume, talking to Marie Louise of Savoy, Queen of Spain. James Edward, the Pretender, holding up a mill in allusion to one of the stories about his paternity, beckons his friends to come on; on the spectator's right, Philip V. of Spain (whose claims were dealt with as a preliminary to the peace) is consoled by a fishwoman (Holland). *See Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires in the British Museum*, II., p. 366.

THE CUSTOM HOUSE, LONDON 713

This and the following illustration are taken from "Mémoires et Observations faites par un voyageur en Angleterre, avec une description particulière de ce qu'il y a de plus curieux dans Londres," by M. Henri Misson de Valbourg (not to be confounded with François Misson), published 1698.

THE TOWER OF LONDON, WITH SHIPS DISCHARGING 715

CITIZENS AT A COFFEE HOUSE 717

From "A Brief Description of the Excellent Virtues of Coffee," 1674.

JOHN, LORD SOMERS (*see* note on illustration, p. 593) 721

THE OLD GROCERS' HALL. 723

In the Old Jewry; rebuilt 1802. The site, originally that of a Jewish synagogue, was bought by the Grocers' Company from Robert Fitzwalter in 1411. The Bank of England carried on its business here from its foundation till 1733, when it moved to its present site.

THE RECOINAGE: HALF-CROWN OF WILLIAM III., 1701. . . . 725

On the obverse, bust of the king, laurelled, with lovelock, and elephant and castle below (the mark of the Tower Mint); on the reverse, shields of arms of the four kingdoms and of Nassau.

MEDAL OF THE HAND-IN-HAND FIRE INSURANCE COMPANY . . . 727

On the obverse, the original name of the company (the Amicable Society) and the date of institution; on the reverse, a temple inscribed Security and the motto "By concord small things increase."

ARCHBISHOP SANCROFT (by P. Lens; Lambeth Palace). 730

BISHOP KEN (by Sir Peter Lely) 731

Lord Weymouth invited Ken to Longleat when he refused the oath of allegiance to William III., and he died there in 1711.

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GEORGE HICKES, DEAN OF WORCESTER 733

ARCHBISHOP TENISON (by Simon Dubois; Lambeth Palace) . . . 735

MEDAL COMMEMORATING QUEEN ANNE'S BOUNTY 737

On the reverse, the queen presents a charter to her clergy; the motto is "The Piety of the August One" (*i.e.* the queen), and below the design, "The first fruits and tenths returned to the Church." These dues, which originally went to the pope, had passed to the Crown at the Reformation, but were not levied on the smaller livings; the "Bounty" consists of a fund derived from those on the larger for the augmentation of poor livings and the building of parsonage houses.

SACHEVERELL: SATIRE ON THE HIGH CHURCH PARTY 738

A print entitled "Needs must when the Devil drives, or What we must expect if High Church comes Uppermost." The Pretender (Perkin) is inside a coach; the wooden shoes typify the French allies of the Tories. Sacheverell is postilion. The leaders, "Passive Obedience" and "Non-resistance," trample on "Property"; the second pair, whose names probably represent Stubbs and Higgins, two clerical supporters of Sacheverell, on "Liberty"; the wheelers, "Slavery" and "Popery," on "Toleration"; the wheels pass over "Moderation."

SACHEVERELL: SATIRE ON THE LOW CHURCH PARTY 739

A reply to the foregoing, entitled "Like Coachman, like Cause, or What we must expect if Low Church comes Uppermost." The calf's head on top of the coach refers to a Whig club which was alleged to meet on the anniversary of Charles I.'s execution, January 30, and dine on calf's head to show contempt for his intellect and his reputation as a martyr. Hoadley is postilion; the leaders, "Moderation" and "Occasional Conformity," trample on "Common Prayer and Episcopacy," typified by Archbishop Laud; "Presbytery" and "Rebellion" on "Loyalty" (the Earl of Strafford); "Republican Tyranny" and "Slavery" on "Magna Charta" and "Liberty of the Subject." Cromwell is inside, Charles I. under the wheels. (*Cf. Catalogue of Political and Personal Satires*, II., Nos. 1496, 1497.)

A WEDDING IN CAMP, BY RUGENDAS . . . . . *to face* 742

CHARLES MORDAUNT, EARL OF PETERBOROUGH 744

THE SIEGE OF NAMUR 745

THE BATTLEFIELD OF BLENHEIM 747

The French and Bavarians, 56,000 strong, were posted behind the shallow stream of the Nebel; Marlborough sent Prince Eugene with 20,000 men to engage the Bavarians, while he himself assailed the French on the centre and right. He found a weak point at the junction of the French and Bavarian armies, and by directing a series of furious cavalry charges against the French centre, he at last broke it and routed the enemy. Eleven thousand men surrendered in Blenheim village, 15,000 were wounded, slain, or driven into the Danube. (Oman, *History of England*, from which work this plan is taken.)

THE BATTLE OF CAPE BARFLEUR, MAY 19, 1692 751

The French fleet under Tourville was coming from Brest: Admiral Russell's fleet left Portsmouth to engage it, and fell in with it off Cape Barfleur. Tourville accepted battle, though his fleet was greatly inferior, partly because he failed to recognise the size of the English force. The Dutch contingent led, the French van engaged them,

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while the French centre and rear attacked the English centre, the red squadron, the rear or blue squadron of the English fleet having fallen astern. Eventually, however, the red squadron broke the French line, while the blue squadron regained its position and enveloped the French fleet. Just at this time the wind failed and a fog stopped the fight; when it lifted, the French fled. They were followed, with some delay, and several of their ships were burned off Cherbourg or in the bay of La Hogue, others escaped through the Race of Alderney to St. Malo. It was felt in England that the pursuit had been slack, and Russell was relieved of his command, but reappointed in November, 1693. He had, in fact, been secretly negotiating previously with James II.

ADMIRAL SIR GEORGE ROOKE (by Michael Dahl) 755

GREENWICH HOSPITAL 757

MODEL OF WINSTANLEY'S LIGHTHOUSE ON THE EDDYSTONE 759

THE EASTERN SEAS, SHOWING NEW HOLLAND AND NEW GUINEA . 761

From a small Dutch atlas, undated, but showing New Zealand and Tasmania, discovered by Tasman in 1642, and a map of Persia from a work by Adam Olearius, published 1656. Its date, therefore, must be between 1656 and Dampier's voyage in 1687-1688.

MODEL OF RUDYERD'S LIGHTHOUSE ON THE EDDYSTONE 763

MONUMENT TO SIR CLOWDISLEY SHOVELL 766

COINS OF WILLIAM AND MARY, WILLIAM III. AND ANNE . 767, 768, 769

Page 767: Half-crown of William and Mary, 1689; on the reverse, shields with the arms of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, and of Nassau in the centre. Tin farthing: this has "nummorum famulus" on the edge; *see* text, p. 548. Page 768: Guinea of William III. Five-guinea piece of Anne, 1703, bearing the word VIGO on the obverse, an indication that it is made of bullion captured from the Spanish galleons in Vigo Bay, October 12, 1702. Page 769: Guinea of Anne, 1714, with the elephant and castle, the mark of "guinea" gold. Halfpenny of Anne, with the rose and thistle growing on one stem, illustrating the union with Scotland.

BUST OF JOHN RAY (by Roubillac) 771

MEDAL COMMEMORATING EDMUND HALLEY 772

A memorial by Dassier, struck in 1744.

JOHN LOCKE 775

WILLIAM WYCHERLEY (by Sir Peter Lely) 782

WILLIAM CONGREVE (by Sir G. Kneller) 783

DIDO MEETING ÆNEAS 786

Dryden has recorded that he refused to please the publisher by dedicating the work to William III., and the publisher took his revenge by having Æneas depicted with the king's nose.

FRONTISPIECE TO "SWIFT'S TALE OF A TUB" 789

As sailors throw out a tub to divert the attention of an infuriated whale, so Swift professes to throw out his book to divert the attention of pamphleteers from the State. The book was published in 1696. The illustration is from the edition of 1724.

JOSEPH ADDISON (by Sir G. Kneller) 791

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SIR RICHARD STEELE (by Sir G. Kneller) 793
At Stationers' Hall, London.

GLASS MAKING 797

POTTERY, LATE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY . . . . . *to face* 798

BROMLEY HALL, BROMLEY-BY-BOW (now a Nurses' Home) . . . 799

SKETCH-PLAN OF TIN MINES IN CORNWALL, 1671 801
The small, rectangular openings are "trial hutches" made to search for ore. The dark bands are, of course, lodes of ore occasionally ramifying into "strings," or interrupted by spar, "daze," clay, and pyrites, and sometimes dipping so as to be practically interrupted. The irregular dark spots are isolated deposits of ore called "squats" or "bonnys." The name of the writer is not given.

ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S HOSPITAL, 1723 804
Founded by Rahere, minstrel or jester of Henry I., as part of his Priory of St. Bartholomew, 1102, for sick persons, maternity cases, and children whose parents died in it, till they had reached the age of seven. It was continued after the Dissolution as a hospital, and rebuilt in 1729. The print is from the Crace Collection.

BRIDEWELL HOSPITAL, 1720 805
The name is derived from a well sacred to St. Bridget, near the west of the Fleet Ditch. Originally a royal palace, it became one of the residences of Wolsey, and was converted by Edward VI. into a house of correction (Vol. III., p. 269). It became chiefly a prison for disorderly women, and also for idle and refractory apprentices. The latter were kept in separate cells and given specific tasks. (Pennant, *London*, ed. 1793.)

CHARITY CHILDREN AT THE GREYCOAT HOSPITAL, WESTMINSTER . 808
The hospital was founded in 1698 for the education of 70 poor boys and 40 poor girls; the figures are in the original costume. It is now modernised as a day school for girls.

CHARITY CHILDREN AT THE NATIONAL THANKSGIVING OF 1713 . . 809
In the Strand; Queen Anne passing on her way to St. Paul's Cathedral to return thanks for the Peace of Utrecht, July 7, 1713. (*See* description on the illustration.)

ANTHONY HORNECK (from his "Memoirs," 1706) 811
Engraving by White, from an original by Mary Beale.

"LONG THREAD LACES, LONG AND STRONG" 812
From Tempest's "Cryes of London," 1711, depicting the itinerant sellers and other characters, who might then be seen in the streets of the capital. The illustrations were probably drawn by Marcellus Lauron or Laroon the elder, son of a Frenchman settled in Holland, and engraved by John Savage (*Dict. Nat. Biography*, art. "Tempest").

THE DUKE'S THEATRE (from the Crace Collection) 813

VAUXHALL 814
The drawing is of a later period, as Canaletto was in England, according to Horace Walpole, between 1746 and 1748.

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THE MUSIC PARTY (probably by Marco Ricci) 815

The two Riccis, Marco and Sebastiano, nephew and uncle, were natives of Belluno in Venetia, and came to London in Queen Anne's reign, the nephew coming first and inviting the uncle to follow. The latter was the more successful. He painted chiefly figure subjects and groups, the nephew landscapes. Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting in England*, II.

MAY DAY: THE FIDDLER AND THE MILKMAID. (*See* note to illus., p. 713) 816

THE NEWSPAPER WOMAN (selling the *London Gazette*, *See* on p. 812) 817

HELMET EWER OF 1713, TRINITY COLLEGE, OXFORD 819

HACKNEY COACH, 1709 820

From a table of fares issued by the Sheriffs' Court, unfortunately now in a damaged condition.

STREET SELLERS IN LONDON, 1698 821

See note above, on p. 812.

VIEW OF HARWICH ABOUT 1710, SHOWING THE DUTCH PACKET . . 823

From the sea: Landguard Fort is at the entrance. The Orwell, coming from Ipswich, is seen in the distance, the Stour, coming from Manningtree, at the back of the town. The church is that of St. Nicholas. A small erection, like a sentry-box, on the spectator's left below the town, is "The candle lighthouse"; a little behind it, above the gate of the town, whence the London road issues, is "The fire lighthouse." The packet is the schooner lying near a three-masted vessel in a line to the right of the point on which the town is situated. The print is dedicated to Viscount Bolingbroke.

WAGGON, 1709 (*see* note on p. 820) 825

"COFFEE HOUSE BABBLE" ON THE SACHEVERELL CASE 826

From an engraving prefixed to the fourth part of "Vulgus Britannicus, or The British Hudibras" (attributed to E. Ward, the author of the "London Spy"), entitled the "Coffee House Mob." The text contains various allusions to the Sacheverell case from the High Church standpoint, *e.g.*:

"Their mutual rancour fiercer grows,
And then they fall from words to blows;
One with a stout S . . . . l cuff
Soon gives his Low Church foe enough;
Another High Church friend as proudly
Subdues a friend that cryed up H . . . y;
Thus those who by reviling first
Begot the fray, came off the worst.

COSTUMES AT THE CORONATION OF WILLIAM AND MARY 828

HEADDRESSES UNDER QUEEN ANNE 829

THE MALL, BY MARCO RICCI 831

The Mall was laid out and planted with trees under the direction of the French landscape gardener Le Nôtre under Charles II. It was conspicuous as a fashionable lounge under Queen Anne, and is mentioned as such by Swift in his letters to Stella. St. James's Park was at this time very rural in character, and was not laid out as it is now until 1827–1829. Thornbury, *Old and New London*, IV., 50, 175.

THE PASS OF GLENCOE 834

Macdonald of Glencoe, with his principal clansmen, presented himself at Fort William on the latest day for taking the oath of allegiance to William and Mary, December 31, 1691. No magistrate

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to administer it could be found nearer than Inverary, which caused six days' delay. The explanation, forwarded with the names to Edinburgh, was suppressed by Stair, and a body of soldiers sent into the glen, who, under the pretence that their mission was peaceable, were hospitably entertained by the clan, whose leading members they then treacherously massacred in the early morning of February 13, 1692.' Dalrymple and the other principal actors were severely censured by a Royal Commission, and the king was invited to prosecute them, but nothing was done (1695).

ANDREW FLETCHER OF SALTOUN 836

WILLIAM PATERSON (from a drawing) 837

The only known portrait. Prefixed to a transcript of his two treatises on the Union.

SCOTTISH PISTOLE OF 1701. 838

Current for twelve pounds Scots; coined from gold supplied by the Darien Company (whose crest was a sun rising from the sea, *see* obverse), and brought from West Africa.

THE LAST SCOTTISH COIN 838

A sixpence; examples were struck till 1709, when the Edinburgh Mint was apparently closed.

BEGGAR'S BADGE AND COLLAR OF A CRIMINAL, 1701 839

These badges were issued till the nineteenth century was well advanced: one in the Edinburgh Museum, however, dates from 1674. The collar was found in the Forth at Logie, Stirlingshire, and bears the inscription "Alexander Stuart, found guilty of death for theft at Perth the 5th of December 1701, and gifted by the Justiciars as a perpetual servant to Sir Jo. Areskin (Erskine) of Alloa." Probably he was drowned in the Forth; possibly he committed suicide.

THE OLD PARLIAMENT HOUSE, EDINBURGH 840

Erected 1631–1640; a characteristic specimen of the Scottish Renaissance style till a new classical front was built in 1808.

EDINBURGH FROM THE SOUTH (about 1690) 841

ROARING MEG AND OLD BATTLEMENTS, LONDONDERRY 844

The gun was the gift of the Fishmongers' Company of London, and derived its name from its loud report. It did good service during the 105 days' siege.

THE NEW TESTAMENT DISGUISED 845

A note on the first page runs thus: "Joseph Glovers written by himself ffor ffear all bibles may be taken away hoping such a book of Accounpts may pass their Scrutiny. Began about ye 24 of July, 1686." That is, the writer feared that James II. and his agents would persecute Protestants and confiscate their Bibles; therefore he copied out the whole of the New Testament in an account book, bound in parchment, about 9 inches long by 3 inches wide, heading the Gospels respectively "Matthew's Accounpt" (*sic*), "Mark's Accounpt," and so on. The Acts is called "The Jornall"; the Epistles, "Romans Acc"; "1st Acc Cor," "Peter's 2nd Acc," etc. The Revelation is disguised as "Sir John's Discoverys." The transcriber clearly hoped that the emissaries of the Government would merely glance at the book. It has been described by Prof. J. H. Bernard in the *Pilot* for March 30, 1901. It is said to have been written in the neighbourhood of Kilkenny.

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SITE OF THE BATTLE OF THE BOYNE (*see* text) 846

LIMERICK HALFPENNY 850

Struck during the siege and after James's flight; on the reverse, Hibernia with a harp.

SIEGE PIECE OF JAMES II. 850

A crown, 1690; this and similar pieces are of copper and brass.

THE TREATY STONE, LIMERICK 852

The treaty was signed on this stone, 1691: it was set on a pedestal at the end of Thomond Bridge in 1865, with the motto, applied by Virgil to Carthage, "Urbs antiqua fuit, studiisque asperrima belli."

SOCIAL ENGLAND

FROM THE RESTORATION TO THE DEATH OF ANNE

CHAPTER XV.

FROM RESTORATION TO REVOLUTION. 1660–1688.

ARTHUR HASSALL. The Reign of Charles II.

With the Restoration of the monarchy on May 26th, 1660, we enter upon the final stage of that great constitutional struggle between Royal prerogative and popular liberties which had been going on, now in Parliament, now on the battlefield, for more than a generation. The first period of the reign of Charles II. is marked by the ascendancy of Clarendon, from the Restoration to the autumn of 1667. During these years the Restoration Settlement was effected, and Charles, occupied with a Dutch and a French war, was unable to carry out his aims of freeing himself from all dependence on Parliament and of granting toleration to Catholicism. Close relations were at first established with France, and Charles's marriage to Catharine of Braganza, the Portuguese Infanta, bringing with her as dowry Tangier and Bombay, £500,000 and freedom of trade in Brazil and the East Indies, was the result of Louis XIV.'s influence. In November, 1662, Dunkirk was sold to France, and Charles, receiving £200,000, hoped, in spite of Parliament, to dispense with the laws which lay heavy upon the Catholics and Dissenters.

The Dutch War, 1665–67.

In 1665 the king and Parliament were at one on the question of a war with the Dutch which broke out that year (February 22nd). At first the prospect seemed dark. Louis XIV. had made an alliance with Holland, and London was suffering from the visitation of the Plague, to be soon followed by the Great Fire. In 1666 Louis, in deference to his Dutch engagements, declared war upon England, but took no decided part in the struggle, while, after a series of battles, Monk gained the mastery of the sea over De Ruyter. In spite, however, of her successes, England was anxious for peace; and Charles, still bent on securing his ends within the kingdom, took advantage of Louis XIV.'s anxiety to conquer the Spanish Netherlands to make a secret treaty with him (March, 1667), Louis agreeing not to support the Dutch against England.

But Louis's plan of taking advantage of the hostilities between England and Holland in order to conquer the Spanish

Low Countries was modified by the boldness of the Dutch themselves. Realising the importance of having their hands free when Louis' invasion occurred, they sailed up the Thames (June, 1667), and forced peace from the English. The Treaty of Breda (July, 1667) ended the war, England keeping New York. The attention of Europe was now concentrated upon Louis' attack on the Spanish Low Countries, which had been entered by French troops in May, and easily overrun. English jealousy of France was aroused, and found expression in the fall of Clarendon in August, 1667. That Minister's position had been weakened by a variety of circumstances. Parliament disliked his views on the royal prerogative, the king and Court were weary of him, while the nation—regarding him as the author of the sale of Dunkirk, and as responsible for the Dutch attack on London — was convinced that he favoured the French. His impeachment and banishment marks the beginning of the second period of the reign, from 1667 to 1674, when England was under the "Cabal." This new administration, composed of Clifford, Ashley, Buckingham, Arlington, and Lauderdale, adopted a spirited foreign policy, and with Sweden and Holland formed, early in 1668, the famous Triple Alliance, the work of Sir William Temple, and one of the determining causes of the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (May 29th, 1668), which ended the War of Devolution. But Charles had no love for the Dutch alliance, and was bent on giving toleration to the English Catholics, while Louis was equally determined to overthrow the Dutch Republic. In May, 1670, the Secret Treaty

Clarendon's Fall, 1667.

Photo: Walker & Cockerell.

CHARLES II., BY MARY BEALE.

(*National Portrait Gallery.*)

The Cabal, 1667-74.

of Dover, known to Arlington and Clifford, was signed, and Charles, in consideration of large sums of money, agreed to aid Louis in his designs against the United Provinces. The outbreak of the Dutch War was followed by the fall of the Cabal, who were regarded by Parliament as subservient to France. From 1674 to 1681 Charles, at war with Parliament, was obliged to play

ANTONY ASHLEY COOPER, FIRST EARL OF SHAFTESBURY.
(*By permission of the Most Hon. the Marquis of Bath.*)

a passive part in European politics. The anti-French feeling in the country ran high, and was justified by Charles's continued secret negotiations with Louis, and by the latter's startling diplomatic and military successes and the unquestioned establishment of the French supremacy in Europe. The popular frenzy, under the direction of Shaftesbury, soon extended to Catholics; Danby was overthrown, and it only required

THE ATTACK ON CHATHAM BY THE DUTCH IN 1667.

(By Romeyn de Hooghe. Sutherland Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford.)

the so-called Popish Plot to rouse an agitation for the exclusion of the Duke of York from the English throne. Though the Exclusion Bill passed the Commons, it was rejected by the Lords, and Parliament was dissolved (January, 1681). From this time to the end of his reign a strong reaction set in, favourable to the king and hostile to Shaftesbury. Till his death, in 1685, Charles's popularity continued to increase. The Corporations of London and other towns were remodelled, Shaftesbury left England, and Charles made no attempt to check Louis XIV.'s continued aggressions.

The Reign of James II., 1685-1688.

Charles's successor, James II., showed himself more determined in the matter of the open recognition of Catholicism, and no less careless with regard to the great issues awaiting solution on the Continent. Having put down the rising of Monmouth, in June, 1685, James endeavoured to use his dispensing powers; he revived the High Commission Court, he issued the Declaration of Indulgence, and he openly attacked the Church. The trial of the Seven Bishops (p. 482) and the birth of an heir to the throne were immediately followed by an invitation from seven Whig Lords to William of Orange to interfere on behalf of the liberties of Englishmen.

Equally reprehensible was James's attitude towards the Continental crisis. Louis, determined to establish his predominance in Europe, had resolved to convert the Truce of Ratisbon—which, in 1684, assured to him twenty years' possession of the reunited districts — into a definitive peace. Europe, united by the League of Augsburg, was prepared to contest his demands, and the assistance of England was of vital importance to the League. Louis was equally anxious to secure the alliance or neutrality of England, and was disposed to regard William of Orange's expedition as calculated to lead to a civil war within England, and the consequent effacement of England in Europe. The rapid successes of William and the flight of James II. upset Louis' calculation. The Revolution of 1688, while it preserved the Parliamentary liberties of England, restored and secured the balance of power in Europe.

The Constitution.

During the reigns of Charles II. and James II. several conflicting principles were at work. While the nation disliked the Stuart ideal of prerogative and foreign interference, whether from the King of France or the Pope, it remained firm in

its attachment to the principle of hereditary succession and to the Anglican Church system. As soon as the Restoration was accomplished, all measures of the Long Parliament passed before the outbreak of the Civil War were confirmed except the Bishops' Bill and the Triennial Bill, Episcopacy was restored, an Act against tumultuous petitioning was passed in 1661; while the Corporation Act, 1661, the Act of Uniformity, 1662, the Conventicle Act, 1664, and the Five-Mile Act, 1665, illustrated forcibly the views of Parliament upon the question of

THE FLIGHT OF JAMES II.

(*From an engraving by Romeyn de Hooghe.*)

toleration. Several important decisions were also come to in the matter of taxation. A property tax took the place of subsidies, tenths, and fifteenths; an hereditary excise succeeded to the feudal dues, and the idea of the Civil List began to come definitely forward.

The Long Parliament of the Restoration.

The Convention Parliament was followed by the Long Parliament of the Restoration, 1661–1679, which at first showed an exuberant loyalty, to be followed by a reaction which culminated in the fall of Clarendon. In 1665 Parliament claimed the right to appropriate supplies to specific purposes, and in 1667 Commissioners were appointed to examine the public accounts. With the fall of Clarendon Parliament began to have good cause to watch the proceedings of the Crown.

Charles was resolved to free himself from all dependence on Parliament, to relieve his Catholic subjects, and to reconcile England and Rome. The Secret Treaty of Dover, the closing of the Exchequer, and the Declaration of Indulgence brought matters to a crisis, and led to the Test Act, 1673, and the fall of the Cabal. From 1674 to 1679 Danby guided the government of the country during what proved to be a stormy period. The rise of the Country Party marks a distinct epoch in the history of party government in England. In 1678 a Parliamentary Test Act was passed, and all Catholics except the Duke of York were excluded from Parliament, and Danby was impeached. Several points of great constitutional importance were brought forward. A step was taken in establishing the principle that no minister can shelter himself behind the throne by pleading obedience to the orders of his sovereign, and that an impeachment does not abate on the prorogation or dissolution of Parliament; while arguments were brought forward on behalf of and against the right of bishops to sit and vote on the trial of peers in capital cases.

MEETING OF CHARLES II.'S FOURTH PARLIAMENT, 1680.
(*Roxburghe Ballad.*)

The King and the Parliament.

After the dissolution of the Long Parliament of the Restoration, Sir William Temple endeavoured to revive and reform the Privy Council. His attempt failed, and the third Parliament of the reign, which met in 1679, passed the Habeas Corpus Act (p. 504), brought forward the Exclusion Bill, and was dissolved the same year. The country being divided on the subject of the Exclusion Bill, numerous petitions were sent up from all parts of England, some asking for a new Parliament, others expressing abhorrence at the attempt to coerce the king. These rival parties of "Petitioners" and "Abhorrers" were later known as Whigs and Tories. The next Parliament (1679–1681)

was as violent as its predecessor. The Exclusion Bill passed the Commons, but was rejected by the Lords, and Parliament was dissolved (January 18th, 1681). The fifth Parliament, known as the Oxford Parliament, met at Oxford on March 21st, 1681, and Shaftesbury and the Opposition, accompanied by bodies of followers, came in great numbers. After eight days of acrimonious discussion over the Exclusion Bill, Charles dissolved his last Parliament. From 1681 to 1685 the country experienced a reaction in favour of the royal power. Fearful of civil war and with no sympathy for the violence of the Whigs, the

Royalist Reaction.

MEDAL SATIRISING THE RYE HOUSE PLOT.

majority of Englishmen supported the king in his determination to uphold the principle of hereditary succession. The Rye House Plot enabled Charles to rid himself of his enemies, and the confiscation of the municipal charters of London and other towns strangled the opposition to the royal prerogative in the large centres of population, and established the despotic power of the king on an apparently firm basis.

Results of the Reign.

The reign of Charles II. has been described as an "era of good laws and bad government." Though the reign ended in the prostration of the Whigs and the triumph of the king, the years from 1660 to 1685 had been marked by a distinct constitutional advance. Arbitrary taxation had ceased, the extraordinary judicial power of the Privy Council had not been revived, the Habeas Corpus Act protected the liberty of

the subject, and the responsibility of ministers had been finally established. The reign, too, had witnessed the growth of the House of Commons. Its right of impeachment had been recognised, the principles of appropriation of supply and audit of accounts had been secured, while its claims to initiate money bills had been placed beyond dispute. Not only did the Lords give up their right to amend money bills, but after a collision with the House of Commons over the case of Skinner *v.* the East India Company, they "tacitly abandoned all pretensions to an original jurisdiction in civil suits." With the accession of Charles II. the history of modern England may be said to have begun, and this change can be distinctly seen in the views held with regard to party government, taxation, the position of ministers, no less than in the steady growth of public opinion.

The Danger under James II.

Of this growth of public opinion James II. was ignorant. Taking advantage of the reaction in favour of the royal power at the end of Charles II.'s reign, he determined to restore Roman Catholicism and to become an absolute monarch. In the first two years of his reign he attempted to gain his ends by remodelling still further the corporations, and by compelling the acquiescence of the servile Parliament which he summoned in 1685. But even this Parliament refused to increase the army or to repeal the Test Act, and consequently it was prorogued (December, 1685). James then increased his army to 30,000 men, largely officered by Roman Catholics; relying on Hales's case (1686), he exercised the dispensing power; contemptuous of constitutional or legal restrictions, he revived the Ecclesiastical Commission. But it was evident that he could not depend upon the aid of the Tories in carrying out his schemes. Accordingly, in 1687 and 1688 he looked to the Nonconformists and the Irish, and by their help hoped to attain his ends. In April, 1687, his first Declaration for Liberty of Conscience was published, but the Nonconformists, distrustful of James's motives, resisted the Declaration, which amounted to "an abrogation and utter repeal of all the laws." A year later the Declaration of Indulgence was published a second time, and ordered to be read. Seven bishops petitioned against it, and were brought to trial. Their acquittal was accompanied by the invitation to William of Orange already mentioned (p. 478).

The arrival of William (November, 1688) was followed by the final flight of James (December 23rd), and the Revolution of 1688 was speedily and quietly carried out. The theory of indefeasible hereditary right was destroyed; the House of Commons became the most important element of the Constitution; while the development of the Cabinet prevented any serious danger arising from the continued possession by the Crown of very considerable powers. **The Revolution of 1688.**

THE close admixture of religion with politics, to the detriment of both, is one of the most noticeable features of this period. **ARTHUR HASSALL.**

THE SEVEN BISHOPS ON THEIR WAY TO THE TOWER.

(From a contemporary Dutch engraving.)

None the less evident is the existence of personal religion among both Churchmen and Nonconformists. If the Church could produce a Sancroft and a Ken, the Nonconformists could point to a Baxter and a Bunyan. With the Restoration the religious division, itself the outcome of the Reformation, became permanent, and no common basis was possible between Churchmen and Calvinists. The Savoy Conference (1661) showed the impossibility of comprehension, and, zealously supported by Parliament, the Church obtained an assured political supremacy (p. 488). On St. Bartholomew's Day, 1662, about 2,000 Baptist **Church and State.**

and Independent ministers, who refused to be ordained, were compelled to leave their benefices.

The King and Toleration.

But the policy of the Act of Uniformity was not the policy of Charles II., who was in favour of liberty of conscience. By the First Declaration of Indulgence (December 26th, 1662) he endeavoured to exercise his dispensing power in favour of religious dissidents. But Clarendon and the Parliament opposed all idea of toleration, and the Conventicle and Five Mile Acts—attempts to prevent the exercise of any but the State religion — followed the king's endeavour to secure toleration. In 1667 Clarendon was sacrificed (p. 476), and in 1668 the House of Commons refused to listen to a just scheme of comprehension. Finding his dependence on Parliament irritating, and recognising the impossibility of gaining his religious ends by constitutional means, Charles opened the negotiations with France which led to the secret Treaty of Dover, his object being to relieve the English Catholics, and to reconcile England and Rome. In 1671 the Second Declaration of Indulgence announced his intention of suspending all penal laws against Nonconformists and recusants. But neither Shaftesbury, Buckingham, nor Lauderdale knew of his projected conversion, though they supported the Dutch War, Shaftesbury himself vehemently defending the policy of the Declaration of Indulgence. Parliament, however, insisted on expanding the policy of the Corporation Act of 1661, and by the Test Act of 1673 made the reception of the Communion according to the rites of the English Church, necessary for the holding of all civil appointments. Popular feeling, now led by Shaftesbury, declared unmistakably against all concessions to the Roman Catholics, and on November 9th, 1674, Shaftesbury was dismissed from the Lord-Chancellorship.

The Anti-Romanist Movement.

From 1674 to 1678 Danby was at the head of affairs. Like Clarendon, he was the zealous champion of Anglicanism, and wished to maintain the hereditary succession and the prerogative. To him the close connection between the Crown and bishops was indispensable for the stability of any government. He desired to "unite sovereignty and hereditary succession with a Parliamentary constitution, and the support of Protestantism on the Continent." Under his influence Charles enforced the laws against Nonconformists, and allowed

the marriage of William of Orange to the Princess Mary to take place (November, 1677). When the popular excitement against France and Rome found satisfaction in the alleged discovery of a popish plot, in the Exclusion Bill, and in the fall of Danby, Charles replied by dissolving the Long Parliament of the Restoration (January, 1679), and sending the Duke of York abroad till the general frenzy had subsided. During the next two years the struggle of the king against Shaftesbury and the new Whig party proceeded with virulence. With the

The Reaction, 1681-85.

O R, EXALTATION.
Being a Pleasant New Song of 82. To a New Tune of, Hey Boys up go We.
My hook you see, Remember me.
Then the Old cause, We will set free.
Now now the Tories all shall stoop, The Name of Lords shall be a by-word,
Religion and the Laws, for ev'ry Man's a Brother,

THE WHIG RAMPANT, 1682.

(*Roxburghe Ballad.*)

dissolution of the Oxford Parliament, March 28th, 1681, the complete triumph of the royal cause may be dated. Charles's popularity daily increased, and the reaction proceeded apace. The penal laws against the Nonconformists were enforced; rumours were current as to Charles's intention of joining the Church of Rome, and ecclesiastical patronage was again resumed by the king. On the 4th of February, 1685, Charles died a professed Catholic. The history of his reign proves the strength of the hold which the Church had upon the nation. Charles himself cared little for the English Church, but he hated Nonconformity in all its developments. Though eminent divines arose from the ranks of Churchmen and Nonconformists

alike, religion suffered a terrible loss of power through the divisions originated at the time of the Reformation, and intensified by the Cromwellian and Caroline policy.

The Policy of James II.

But while Charles had always recognised the limitations of his own powers, his successor, James II., was less shrewd, more obstinate, and perhaps more single-minded. From the outset of his reign he failed to realise that the deeply ingrained national opposition to Rome was not confined to any one class, but was shared by Churchmen and Dissenters alike. Instead of adopting a conciliatory attitude towards the clergy, he at once endeavoured by force to exact obedience to his wishes, and by means of the royal supremacy to crush the independence of the Church. Instead of recognising the fierce hostility of the Dissenters to Rome, he endeavoured, in the Declaration of Indulgence, to purchase their adhesion to his plans for the restoration of Roman Catholicism by a series of measures which roused their suspicions and still further alienated the Anglican clergy. In the struggle the Church assumed the lead, and without its assistance the Revolution could not have taken place. James's plan of dispensing with the Test Acts in order to appoint Roman Catholics to important posts, his nomination of Roman Catholics to university appointments, his revival of the High Commission Court, his ejection of the fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford, for non-compliance with his wishes, and his suspension of the penal laws against Roman Catholics and Dissenters (1687), drove the Church and Tory party into violent opposition. Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, and six other bishops, presented a petition to James, refusing to allow his Declaration of Indulgence to be read in churches and chapels, and were supported by the clergy throughout the country.

The Revolution of 1688.

The persecution and acquittal of the bishops (June, 1688) forced the clergy to renounce the doctrine of passive obedience, and united the country in opposition to the king. The Nonconformists joined unhesitatingly in the defence of the Church and liberty against the Romanists, and thus the Revolution was the work of the whole nation. An invitation had been on June 30th sent over to William of Orange by Henry Sidney, the Earls of Devonshire, Shrewsbury, Danby, Bishop Compton, Lumley, and Edward Russell—seven men representing important

LORD CHANCELLOR JEFFREYS TAKEN IN WAPPING.

(*Sutherland Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford.*)

sections of public opinion. In the invitation William was asked to bring an army to England to secure the liberties of the people. On October 20th, William issued his declaration, enumerating the unconstitutional acts of James II., and asserting that he was going to England to secure a free and legal Parliament. James's hurried concessions in face of the manifesto did not suffice to remove the general mistrust, and William landed at Torbay (November, 1688). The desertion of Churchill, the commander of the royal forces, was followed by James's flight (December 11th), by his return to London, and on December 18th by his second flight and the collapse of the Stuart rule—a collapse summed up in the arrest of Lord Chancellor Jeffreys, the instrument of its tyrannies, in Wapping.

The Revolution Achieved.

William III., master of the situation, summoned the House of Lords and a Convention freely elected, to which the question of the settlement of England was referred. After lengthy discussions, the Commons declared by resolution that "King James II., having endeavoured to subvert the constitution of the kingdom by breaking the original contract between king and people, and by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked people having violated the fundamental laws, and having withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, had abdicated the government, and the throne had thereby become vacant."

The House of Lords was by no means prepared to accept the views of the Commons, and the situation for a time became acute. Eventually a compromise was agreed upon, by which it was settled that William and Mary should be joint sovereigns, and that the former should administer the government.

W. H. HUTTON. The Restored Church.

THE Restoration was, from one point of view, a religious movement; it was the reaction consequent on the supremacy of the sects. In 1660, Presbyterians, perhaps even more indignant than Churchmen at the ideas of Anabaptists and Independents, were eager to join in restoring the king. With the king came inevitably the bishops, and with the bishops the system of Laud but very slightly modified. Theologically, the great divines of the Restoration—Jeremy Taylor, Pearson, Cousin, Barrow, Ken, Patrick—were in accord with the school of Andrews and Hammond. And in matters of ritual the pre-Rebellion uses

WILLIAM III. LANDING AT BRIXHAM.

(From the picture [portion] at Hampton Court Palace.)

were kept up. But at first it seemed as if there might be found some principle of concord between the two great religious bodies which had brought back the king. Charles himself was in favour of comprehension, and the scheme of Archbishop Ussher seemed likely to become the basis of a new ecclesiastical constitution. But the king also desired a wide toleration, and himself suggested that it should include both Roman Catholics and Independents. The law, he said, gave sufficient safeguard against the Romanists. "Yes," replied Richard Baxter; "but the question is whether the law is to be enforced or not." Thus the old Puritan position—that the essential right of their own belief made it impossible to grant toleration to others—prevented a settlement. The failure of the Savoy Conference, coupled with this intolerance of the Presbyterians, made the triumph of the Church more strongly marked. The people welcomed its return, and the ultra-Royalist Parliament took it under its protection.

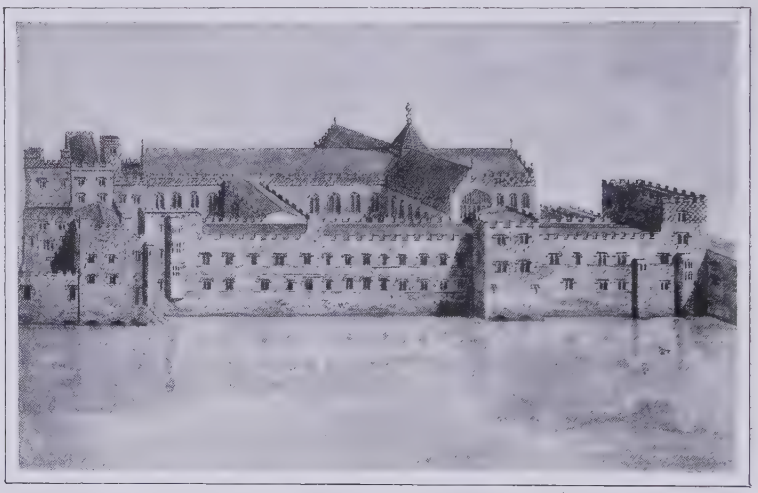
an Informer
Stand for a noise
A Protestants Meeting.
Informer, art thou in the Tree?
Take heed, left there thou hanged be:
Look likewife to thy Foot-hold well,
Left, if thou flip, thou fall to Hell.

A CONVENTICLE, AND ITS DANGERS.
(*John Bunyan's "Mr. Badman,"* 1680.)

From the first the Church was hampered rather than aided by State interference, which out-Heroded Herod in its persecuting ardour. The Royalist Parliament proceeded at once to pass the Corporation Act and the Act of Uniformity, both of which were contrary to the inclination of the king and to the true interests of the Church. The Church under Sheldon, and still more under Tillotson, was in honourable

State and Church.

captivity to a State which was often quite embarrassing in the fervour of its Anglicanism. The reaction brought persecution from the victors. The Anglican Commons, in moments of enthusiasm or of terror, passed the Corporation Act, the Five Mile Act, the Conventicle Act, and—most disastrous of all to the Church—that panic-born measure, passed for the convenience of the State rather than the benefit of the Church, the Test Act. Designed mainly for the prevention of supposed political danger, these laws forced into unpleasant and unnecessary relief the differences, in many cases very slight, which separated the



THE SAVOY IN THE TIME OF JAMES II.
(*Sutherland Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford.*)

Nonconformists from the Church. Thus, during the reign of Charles II., persecution of Dissenters, followed by persecution of Romanists, gradually bound the Church more closely to the State. Under James the attacks of the Crown upon ecclesiastical freeholds, and the bold stand of the bishops for Church liberties and national freedom, restored again the hold of the Church over the mass of the people. It was the Church that gave the strongest assistance in the movement before which James fled from the country. The Revolution, like the Restoration, was largely a Church movement.

During the period of which we have spoken, the Church

occupied a new position, but exercised many of her old privileges. Dissent was now recognised as a permanent fact. It had a legal status, exemptions and rights, as well as penalties and exclusions. The Church no longer claimed to include all Englishmen in her fold. But her old position was in many ways retained; she did not abandon the exercise of her discipline over her own members. One of the first acts of Juxon as Archbishop was to grant to Secretary Nicholas a licence to eat meat in Lent, thus showing that the old rule of Church and State was still binding. Penances, too, were still exacted and performed. Pepys notes a "declaration of penitence of a man that had undergone the Church's censures" that he heard in 1665, and there are many instances of its later use. Excommunication, too, was far from uncommon, till gradually it came to be perceived that the Church's power, as entirely spiritual, was ineffective over those who had no desire for spiritual privileges.

The New Position of the Church.

THE DEAN OF WESTMINSTER.
(*From F. Sandford.*)

The Church, however, was now coming less and less to be regarded as a separate estate. By agreement between Clarendon and Archbishop Sheldon, the clergy ceased to tax themselves in Convocation. Community of suffering, again, had made them more united to the gentry, and at the same time more dependent on them. The independence that Archbishop Laud had tried to obtain for them had been short-lived; but at the same time there has, perhaps,

PREBENDARIES.
(*From F. Sandford.*)

The Position of the Clergy.

never been a period, at least since the fifteenth century, when the clergy exercised such influence in England as that which extends from the Restoration to the death of Queen Anne. In the higher offices of the Church were men of learning and address; the Gallican Church itself could not boast abler writers or more famous scholars. Few Churchmen have exercised greater influence at a critical juncture than that which the English clergy obtained by their courageous stand against James II. In most of the important events of the time the bishops played a leading part, and that without sacrifice of the dignity or the sanctity of their office. Sheldon was a statesman as well as Archbishop, and he reproved Charles II. to his face for his evil life. Ken was revered throughout the whole land; and he, too, spoke boldly for the right, both against William of Orange for his treatment of his devoted wife, and in refusing to admit Nell Gwynne to his house; and in politics, as well as morals, he stood staunch to the cause of the right. A Church which was ruled by Sancroft, Wilson, Ken, Compton, Pearson, Jeremy Taylor, and Nathaniel Lord Crewe, could not be declared wanting in any sort of distinction; and the distinction was recognised even by those who rejected the Church's teaching on religion or on morals. Nor was clerical influence less felt, though it was felt in a different way, in the case of the less prominent clergy. It

Private Chaplains.

was the age of private chaplains. The satirists of the age and of succeeding generations have delighted to make mock of the humble priest, the mere creature of his patron, who said his grace, wrote his letters, rode his horses, helped him in a thousand menial offices, and ended with a small living and the hand of his cast-off mistress or his wife's waiting-maid. The chaplains were mostly but slightly under episcopal control, and although their position was in many cases higher than has been commonly represented, the laxity of supervision, and the number of clergy who were looking out for employment, made it not unnatural that in some cases their position should be practically that of a superior servant. The famous lines of Oldham were in some cases not very far from the truth:—

> "Diet, an horse, and thirty pounds a year,
> Besides th' advantage of his lordship's ear,

The credit of the business and the state,
Are things that in a youngster's sense sound great.
Little the unexperienced wretch doth know
What slavery he oft must undergo;
Who though in silken scarf and cassock drest,
Wears but a gayer livery at best.
When dinner calls, the implement must wait,
With holy words to consecrate the meat,
But hold it for a favour seldom shown
If he be deign'd the honour to sit down."

But the sketch is very grossly exaggerated. Ken was a private chaplain; so was Kettlewell. It was no indignity to guide the religion of a great household. And among the country gentry the chaplains preserved a tone which, but for them, might, in the general reaction and laxity, have been utterly lost. If they were ever the creatures of their patrons, their income at least enabled them to serve poor parishes where otherwise the work of a clergyman would have been impossible. The clergy almost alone withstood the torrent of licentiousness which threatened the country from the example of the Court. Most of them remained firmly at their posts during the horrors of the Plague. In many London parishes the daily prayers went on as usual, and from Sheldon at Lambeth down to the poorest curates there was set, by many of the Church's ministers, an example which greatly strengthened the influence of the clerical order.

And, whatever may have been the position of the chaplains in the household, it is unquestionable that the clergy entered intimately into the life of the age, and acquired, by their association with those in whose hands lay all political power, a very considerable influence in the State. At any moment during the reign of James II., and possibly also in that of his brother, a decided action of the bishops could have practically directed the politics of the country. It was the clergy still who wrote most of the political pamphlets of the day, and their sermons were published and read with an avidity which to us is amazing.

The Social Status of the Clergy.

Thus it is clear that the social position of the clergy was by no means so low as might be inferred from a mere perusal of the novels and satires of a little later time. "The priesthood is the profession of a gentleman," said Jeremy Collier; and Anthony Wood, writing of Bishop Compton, a son of the

Earl of Northampton, who had originally served in the army, says that he was persuaded "to take holy orders, which was the readiest way to preferment for the younger sons of noblemen."[1] The Seven Bishops were all men of distinction, and some of them of very good family. The parish clergy were still frequently men of mark, especially in the large towns, but the growth of pluralities was gradually dividing them into two classes, those who had many valuable preferments and those who did many duties. The bishops of the next age had rarely been country parsons, and what began as a social division gradually marked a political severance.

POPULAR RELIGION IN 1682.
(*Roxburghe Ballad.*)

The Clerical "Lecturers"

Besides the parochial clergy there were still a large number of lecturers, whom Laud had ineffectually endeavoured to suppress, and whom the Commonwealth had again allowed to flourish. This class owed its institution to individual predilection for particular doctrines, for the propagation of which patrons were willing to pay not unhandsomely, and its popularity to the strange avidity of the people for pulpit eloquence. It was a complaint of the orthodox that the lecturers were both heretical and popular. "People will hurry to a lecture, though it be at the remotest part of the town, but let the bell toll never so loud for the canonical hours of prayer, it will not call the nearest of the neighbourhood." Mr. Gardiner's description

[1] "Athenæ Oxonienses," iv., 514.

THE SEVEN BISHOPS.

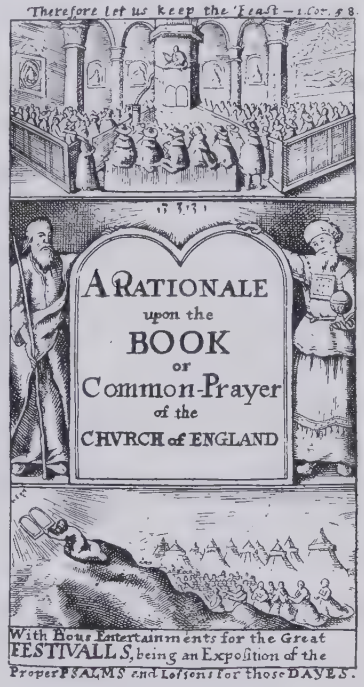
(*Sutherland Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford.*)

of the lecturer under Charles I. is true of those who survived the Restoration. He was "paid by a corporation or by individuals to preach and to do nothing more." Though the law now compelled him to read the service before preaching, it was probably in many cases evaded, and only when the prayers were over would he emerge from the vestry and "shine forth in the eyes of the congregation as one who was far superior to the man by whom the printed prayers had been recited." Thus Baxter proposed as a prominent feature of the comprehension which he desired that "lecturers should not be obliged to read the service, or at most that it be enough that once in half a year they read the greatest part of what is appointed for that time." The bishops, however, applied themselves strenuously to the regulation of the lecturers, and though many still survived in towns, their importance from this date began decidedly to wane.

The Church and the People.

From the position of the clergy themselves we pass naturally to consider their influence on the people at large. The poor were generally, but unintelligently, Church folk; though, as in the case of Bunyan, those who sought enthusiasm in their religion found it chiefly among the Dissenters. The upper classes, on the other hand, were Churchmen without exception, and among them were many eminent examples of piety and philanthropy. The physicians of the time seem no longer to have lain under the imputation of infidelity which had been so freely cast upon students such as Sir Thomas Browne. Dr. Willis, Sedleian Professor of Natural Philosophy at Oxford, and physician-in-ordinary to the king, was famous as a devout Churchman from the time when, in the midst of the wars, and after the suppression of the Prayer Book, he opened his house, Beam Hall at Oxford, for the performance of the liturgy of the English Church. Peter and John Barwick were no less famous for their simple piety. The former lived for near forty years close to Westminster Abbey, "and constantly frequented the six o'clock prayers, consecrating the beginning of every day to God, as he always dedicated the next part to the poor; not only prescribing to them gratis, but furnishing them with medicine at his own expense, and charitably relieving their other wants." And even Sir Thomas Browne himself, in his later days, was taken more at his own estimate as a sound Church of England

man. Isaac Walton lived till 1683 honoured and beloved, and died under the shadow of Winchester Cathedral. Elias Ashmole, antiquary, Sir Matthew Hale and Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, judge and magistrate, Lord Clarendon and his sons, and Robert Boyle, were all men of religion and virtue. There were, in fact, few periods in our history when the richer laity were more devoted to the Church. Among the ladies there were instances of piety as conspicuous. Mary, Countess of Warwick, who has left a voluminous account of her religious experience in the form of a diary, "very inoffensively, regularly, and devoutly observed the order of the Church of England in its liturgy and public service, which she failed not to attend twice a day with exemplary reverence." Lady Rachel Russell, Dorothy, Lady Parkington, and the exquisite Mrs. Godolphin are all fragrant memories of this period, that contrast strangely both with the Court of St. James's and with the great Frenchwomen, their contemporaries, Mademoiselle de Montpensier and the Duchess de Longueville. If Lady Pakington wrote "The Whole Duty of Man" (p. 577), she guided the devotions of a generation; and the fame is immortal of Lady Betty Hastings, whom "to love was a liberal education."



PUBLIC WORSHIP
(*Sparrow, "Rationale,"* 1661.)

THE Restoration may be said to open a new period in the history of English law. The supremacy of the common law had been vindicated by the Long Parliament. The extraordinary courts established by the Tudors to be the bulwarks of personal government had been overthrown. The ecclesiastical courts

F. C. MONTAGUE. The Development of Law.

had been reduced to dignified impotence. The Court of Chancery ceased to be an instrument of the Royal prerogative. Henceforth it was to owe the amplitude of its jurisdiction to the needs of the subject, not to the ambition of the monarch. It is true that when the monarchy had been overthrown men went on to canvass the defects of the law of England. A comprehensive reform of the law, especially of the rules of procedure, was frequently demanded in the time of the Commonwealth. But with the Restoration projects of this kind were laid aside. Tired of change and confusion, men

SUITORS UP FROM THE COUNTRY, MICHAELMAS TERM, 1670.
(*Roxburghe Ballad.*)

were glad to return to the institutions of their forefathers. Satisfied to be rid for ever of the Court of Star Chamber and the Court of High Commission, they regarded little the barbarity of the criminal law, or the vexatious expense and delay of proceedings in Chancery. The common law had taken its permanent shape; its principles had been ascertained, and fixed in a multitude of reported cases. That minute portion of our immense legal literature which enjoys an authority comparable with the authority of judicial decisions received some of its latest and most valuable additions in the writings of the celebrated Sir Matthew Hale, who held under Charles II. the offices of Chief Baron of the Exchequer and Chief Justice

Completion of the Common Law.

LORD CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE KING'S BENCH AND LORD CHIEF BARON.

(*From F. Sandford.*)

of the King's Bench. But the virtual completion of the common law gave fresh importance to the agencies by which it could be supplemented or improved. From this time forwards the adaptation of law to the needs of society is carried on chiefly by the Courts of Equity and by the Legislature.

The Independence of Jurors.

One momentous reform, indeed, is due to a judicial decision given in this period. The independence of jurors was secured by the famous judgment in Bushell's case. That jurors might be called to account for giving a verdict against the weight of evidence and the direction of the Court, was too convenient a doctrine not to find acceptance with the Tudor sovereigns. They did not hesitate to mark their displeasure with jurors who had returned a verdict contrary to their wishes. The offenders were liable to be reprimanded by the judges, or to be summoned before the Star Chamber, which was usually content to admonish, but sometimes visited them with fine or imprisonment. These precedents were not forgotten under the Stuarts. Even after the abolition of the Star Chamber, jurors were occasionally rebuked or fined by the Chief Justice of the King's Bench. With the decline of personal government, however, this practice called down more and more general disapproval. In 1667 the House of Commons formally condemned it by resolution. A little later all the judges, save

MASTERS IN CHANCERY.

(*From F. Sandford.*)

Bushell's Case.

one, agreed in declaring that it was unlawful to fine jurors for returning a verdict against the direction of the Court. The last person fined for this offence was Edward Bushell, one of the jury which in 1670 acquitted the Quakers Penn and Mead, when indicted before the Recorder of the City of London for having held an unlawful assembly. As the verdict was against the Recorder's direction, he fined each of the jurors forty marks, and, on Bushell's refusing to pay, committed him to custody. Bushell sued out his habeas corpus. Vaughan, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, held that the ground of his committal was insufficient, and set him at liberty. Since that time no juryman has been called in question for giving a verdict according to his own judgment.

SERJEANTS-AT-LAW.
(*From F. Sandford.*)

The history of modern equity begins with the reign of Charles II. Not only was the Court of Chancery more recent in its origin than the Courts of Common Law, but it was remarkably slow to form a definite jurisprudence. This may have been due partly to the auxiliary nature of its jurisdiction, and partly to the fact that the Chancellor

Equity.

was a great officer of State, who had been promoted for qualities distinct from those of the professional lawyer, who had many other things to do besides administering justice, and who was much more deeply concerned in urgent matters of civil and ecclesiastical policy than in giving a systematic form to his corrections of the ancient law. The rules of equity could not be methodised until the Chancellor should regard the dispensation of equity as his principal function, and the office of Chancellor should be given only to men who had made the law their profession. But these changes took many years to effect. The last clerical Lord Keeper was Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, who held the Great Seal from 1622 to 1625. The last Chancellor

who could be termed the chief adviser of the Crown was Lord Clarendon. The last Chancellor who was not a lawyer by profession was his successor, Lord Shaftesbury. Dryden has varied his invective against Shaftesbury as a statesman by praising Shaftesbury as a judge. It seems probable, however,

Lawyers as Chancellors.

SIR HENEAGE FINCH.

(By permission of the Right Hon. the Earl of Verulam.)

that the satire was better merited than the panegyric. The third Chancellor of Charles II., Sir Heneage Finch (afterwards Earl of Nottingham), is the beginner of a new era. A jurist first, and a public man afterwards, he owes his high place among the Chancellors of England solely to his transcendent merits as a judge. He is the first in that series of great magistrates by whom equity was reduced to a system almost as precise

and as little dependent upon individual opinion as the common law itself, the first to take away the reproach that equity had no measure but the Chancellor's foot. But he was less fortunate than his successors, in the circumstance that his decisions were ill reported.

Statute Law.

More generally intelligible and interesting than the fixing of the rules of equity is the legislation which signalises the period between the Restoration and the Revolution. Compared with earlier legislation, it is remarkably copious. The statutes of Charles II. surpass in bulk the statutes of every previous reign except the reign of Henry VIII. Several are of the highest importance. Among them may be noted the Statute of Distributions, which first established a reasonable rule for the administration of the personalty of those dying intestate.

The Statute of Frauds.

Still more noteworthy is the Statute of Frauds, passed—as the preamble informs us—"for prevention of many fraudulent practices which are commonly endeavoured to be upheld by perjury and subornation of perjury." With this object it required a written form for certain classes of contracts, leases, and wills. Whether it has accomplished its purpose, or accomplished that purpose in the best way, is still disputed. What is certain is, that no other Act of Parliament has given rise to so much litigation. But even the Statute of Frauds and the Statute of Distributions yield in importance to the memorable enactments which abolished tenures in chivalry and assured the personal freedom of the subject. These enactments claim separate notice.

Military Tenures.

The nature and incidents of the military tenures have been described in a former portion of this work. It has been shown that these tenures never effectually fulfilled their purpose of providing the Crown with a trustworthy military force (Vol. I., p. 434). Personal service was commuted for the money payment known as scutage, and scutage came to be less and less productive as a source of revenue. It had long been replaced by other forms of taxation on land, when Charles I. thought of reviving it in 1640 in order to supply the immediate necessities of the war against the Scotch Covenanters. But the incidents of military tenure, other than the obligation to military service, remained, and appeared all the more burdensome now that they were no longer justified by circumstances.

Among such incidents the most unreasonable and the most oppressive were the rights of wardship and marriage. Originally even these rights might have been justified. So long as the tenant holding directly from the Crown was a military chief, the Crown had some ground for claiming the guardianship of his infant heir. If he left an heiress, the Crown might not unfairly claim a voice in choosing the husband to whom she would transfer the command of her vassals. And the rights which the Crown claimed over its tenants in chief were naturally claimed by them over their military tenants. But when the holder of land on military tenure had lost his military character, it was intolerable that he should not be able to choose a guardian for his children, and that the Crown should maladminister his estate if he died before they came of age. It was even more intolerable that, if he left an heiress, the Crown should interfere with her choice of a husband. Oppressive in themselves as were the rights of wardship and marriage, they were aggravated by the abuses of the Court of Wards established in the reign of Henry VIII. The loss to the military tenants was great, and the gain to the Crown was small. From the accession of the Stuarts, the commutation of the incidents of military tenure for a fixed hereditary revenue to be settled on the king had been a cherished scheme of reform. An agreement to that effect known as the Great Contract had been set on foot between James I. and his Parliament, but had not been concluded because James thought that the annual sum of £200,000 offered by the House of Commons was not an adequate consideration. In the course of the negotiations with Parliament, opened in 1648, and known as the Treaty of Newport, Charles I. offered to accept a revenue of £100,000 in lieu of his rights over the military tenants. It is true that the military tenures had already been abolished by an ordinance of the Parliament. During the Commonwealth this ordinance held good, and when Charles II. returned to England it was found impossible to revive a set of abuses which had been suspended for fifteen years. The Convention Parliament therefore passed the famous Act 12 Ch. II., c. 24, taking away the Courts of Wards and all the incidents of military tenure or tenure in chivalry. All the land hitherto held upon this tenure was henceforward to be held in free and common socage, a

Military Tenures Abolished.

tenure involving merely nominal services. In compensation for the revenues thus taken away, the king received a hereditary excise upon beer and other liquors. It is a mistake to imagine that the nation lost anything by the abolition of the military tenures. Personal service had long been out of date, and all pecuniary payments, having become fixed at a remote period, had become insignificant through the fall in the value of the precious metals.

The Effect on Landed Property.

By this Act the power of devising land by will was indirectly enlarged. That power had virtually disappeared on the completion of the feudal system. A statute of the thirty-second year of Henry VIII. (1540) had empowered a tenant in fee simple to dispose by will of all his land held in socage, but of only two-thirds of his land held in chivalry. Now that tenure in chivalry was converted into tenure in socage, the tenant in fee simple could dispose by his will of all lands whatsoever. This Act also gave every father power to appoint a guardian to his children, and gave the guardian full control over the ward's estate, both real and personal. Formerly, when a socage tenant left an heir under age, the next of kin who could not inherit the land became his guardian, irrespective of the father's wishes. Lastly, this Act deprived the Crown of the celebrated rights of purveyance and pre-emption (Vol. II., p. 428). In virtue of these rights the king's officers had been accustomed to take supplies for his household practically at prices fixed by their own discretion. The incessant movements and vast retinue of our medieval kings had made these rights the means of endless loss and endless vexation to the subject. To restrain the abuse of these rights had been the object of a long series of unavailing enactments, beginning with Magna Charta. In conclusion, it may be said that the Act for taking away the military tenures completed the ruin of the feudal land-law. The numerous fragments of feudalism which remain embedded in the modern law of real property are, for the most part, insignificant.

Habeas Corpus.

In comparison with the Act which swept away so much of the common law, an Act which merely improved the procedure for enforcing a single common-law right might seem trivial. But that right was the most precious of all—the right to personal freedom; and the statute which rendered it secure, although generally misunderstood, has not been prized too dearly. The

right not to be imprisoned save on grounds defined by law, and, if imprisoned on a criminal charge, to be brought to trial within a reasonable time, is far older than the Habeas Corpus Act, and is, indeed, asserted in general terms in the thirty-ninth clause of Magna Charta, by which the king undertakes that no free man shall be imprisoned otherwise than by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land. A person detained in prison was entitled under the common law to demand from the Court of King's Bench a writ of "habeas corpus ad subjiciendum" (*i.e.* have the body to submit to the court), addressed to the person who had him in custody. The gaoler had then to produce him in court, together with the warrant for his commitment. The Court had authority to inquire into the sufficiency of the warrant, and either to discharge the prisoner or to admit him to bail, or to send him back to prison. It should be added that the Court had no discretion to refuse the writ. In practice, however, these legal securities proved insufficient. Sincere belief in the necessity of State, or timid subservience to the king, often led the judges to decline making any order on the writ. Means of communication were so imperfect that a prisoner once removed to some distant place of confinement might languish there for years before any friend (if he had friends) could discover where he was. If a prisoner were conveyed out of the kingdom of England, he was beyond the jurisdiction of the King's Bench, and had no legal remedy for his detention. Lastly, the procedure was subject to technical defects. It was doubtful whether the writ of habeas

THE HABIT OF A JUDGE.
(*By W. Hollar.*)

corpus could be issued by the Court of Common Pleas or by the Court of Exchequer, and whether a single judge could issue it during vacation. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that cases of arbitrary imprisonment frequently occurred down to the meeting of the Long Parliament. Even after the Restoration, Clarendon, who preserved the traditions of the old monarchy, offended several times against the liberty of the subject. The House of Commons, therefore, sought to provide an effectual remedy. Bills with this intention were introduced in 1668, in 1670, in 1673, and in 1675, but it was not until 1679 that the celebrated Habeas Corpus Act (31 Ch. II., c. 2) was passed with the assistance of Lord Shaftesbury. The chief provisions of this Act are as follow:—It inflicted the penalties of a præmunire (imprisonment for life and forfeiture of goods and chattels) on every person who should send an inhabitant of England a prisoner into Scotland, or any place beyond seas (and therefore out of the jurisdiction of the Courts at Westminster). It made effectual the common-law right of every person committed on a charge of misdemeanour to be released upon giving bail for his appearance. He might apply during vacation to the Chancellor, or any one of the judges, who were required, under heavy penalties, to grant him the writ of habeas corpus. Heavy penalties were also denounced against the gaoler who failed to obey the writ. The Act also provided for the case of a prisoner committed on a charge of treason or of felony. If not brought to trial at the next sittings after his commitment, he was to be set at liberty on bail, unless it were proved upon oath that the witnesses for the Crown could not then be produced. If not brought to trial at the second sittings after his committal, he was to be discharged altogether. No person set at liberty on a writ of habeas corpus was to be again imprisoned on the same charge otherwise than by order of the court having jurisdiction in his case. The very fact that in troubled times, when it may be necessary to imprison persons whom it is inconvenient to try, the Legislature has been compelled to suspend this statute, is enough to prove that the securities which it provides are real and substantial.

The Habeas Corpus Act.

Less important in its bearing on practice, but hardly less interesting to the historian, is the Act of 1677, which abolished the punishment of death for the offence of heresy (Vol. II.,

p. 398). Considerable uncertainty hangs over the origin of the famous writ *de hæretico comburendo*, under which so many persons were burnt alive for their religious opinions. Ever since the conversion of England to Christianity heretics had been subject to ecclesiastical penalties. Sir Matthew Hale asserted in his "Pleas of the Crown" that the common law recognised a writ under which heretics might be burned. But Mr. Justice Stephen, in his "History of the Criminal Law," doubts the existence of any such writ at common law, on the ground that there is no instance of its having been issued previous to the year 1400. Be this as it may, an Act of that year (2 Hen. IV., c. 15) required the sheriffs to burn to death the obstinate heretics delivered over to them by the ecclesiastical courts. And although the law relating to heresy was frequently modified in subsequent times, and the last case in which heretics were burnt occurred in the year 1612, the writ *de hæretico comburendo* was not abolished until the year 1677. An Act of that year (29 Ch. II., c. 9) puts an end to all capital punishment in pursuance of ecclesiastical censures, although it permits the judges of ecclesiastical courts to inflict ecclesiastical punishments such as excommunication, deprivation, or degradation, on persons guilty of "atheism, blasphemy, heresy, or schism and other damnable doctrines and opinions." Even if this Act had never been passed, it is unlikely that any person would have suffered death for his religious opinions. But the formal abolition of capital punishment for heretics marks the progress of the doctrine of religious toleration.

The Burning of Heretics.

To the personal ambition of Charles II. is due the establishment of our standing army. Prior to the Civil War there had been no permanent professional army. The Militia was the Constitutional armed force of the country. Troops for particular wars had indeed been raised and paid for by the Parliament, but they were disbanded at the conclusion of the campaigns for which they were enrolled. Some permanent force was, no doubt, maintained to garrison important fortresses; and corps of gentlemen-at-arms, yeomen of the guard, and gentlemen-pensioners were supported by the Crown, but more as a part of the Royal Household than as troops for service in the field.

G. LE M. GRETTON. The Army.

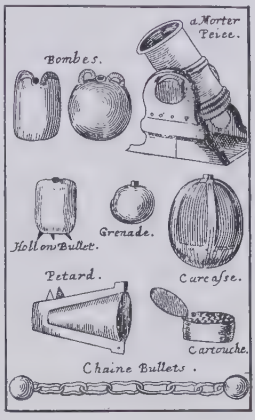
Rise of a Standing Army.

Under the Commonwealth, on the contrary, military force was supreme: an army variously estimated from 30,000 to 60,000 strong was under arms in the United Kingdom at the Restoration; and so much impressed was the king by the martial aspect of these Republican veterans that he was with difficulty restrained from enlisting them into the royal service. They were paid off and disbanded under hastily passed Acts of Parliament, which, however, reserved to the king the power to keep up specified garrisons, and to enlist for his service certain of Monk's troops who had aided in the Restoration. These corps now appear upon the roll of the British Army as the Second Life Guards and the Coldstream Guards. The First Life Guards and the Grenadier Guards have their origin in bodies of Royalist gentlemen raised by Charles II. during his exile in Holland. Under various pretexts fresh regiments of Horse and Foot were added year by year to Charles's army. At one time it was necessary to garrison Tangier, the African possession which the Stuarts so lightly flung away; at another to furnish and maintain a contingent of 6,000 men for the land operations against the Dutch, to which Charles's shameful vassalage to Louis XIV. committed him. In vain did Parliament protest against this rapid and unsanctioned increase in the numbers of the standing army; the misplaced lavishness with which the nation, in 1660, had bestowed grants upon Charles for his life, enabled the king to pay the troops without reference to the House of Commons.

ARMOUR OF JAMES II.
(*Tower of London.*)

During his short reign James II. so steadily pursued the

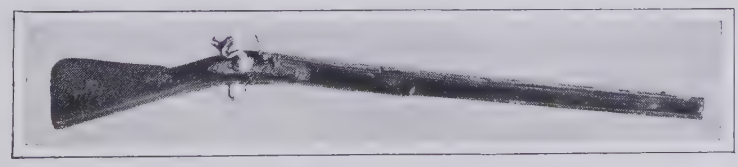
same policy that in 1688, in addition to the Household troops, he commanded six regiments of Dragoon Guards, four of Dragoons, and seventeen infantry battalions. To improve their efficiency he formed camps of instruction at Blackheath and Hounslow, where large numbers of regulars and militia were brought together to be trained in brigade and divisional movements. To obtain adequate supervision over colonels of regiments, the king appointed an "Inspector General, to exercise the forces and visit the garrisons." He revised the "Articles of War," a code of offences which, often in themselves trivial or absolutely unknown to the common law, are in a soldier serious crimes; and, like the military reformers of every time, he issued a new drill book. To encourage his officers to study actual warfare, he gave much leave of absence to them to travel on the Continent and take part in the perennial campaigns which then devastated Europe. But these various efforts to create an efficient army do not appear to have impressed the foreign critics who saw James's troops. In a significant passage in one of Barillon's despatches to Louis XIV., the ambassador reports "the commonest rules of war are here unknown; and with the exception of a few officers who have served in France and Holland, the remainder do not possess even the rudiments of the art of war." [1]



MINOR ARTILLERY.
("*English Military Discipline*," 1680.)

Yet, in spite of this severe and probably well-merited criticism, it must not be supposed that the improvements made **Weapons.**

[1] Scott, "British Army," iii., 579.



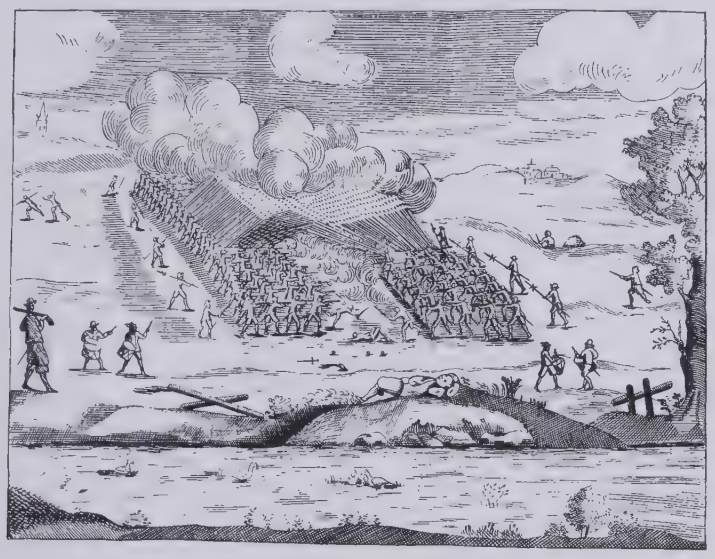
FLINT-LOCK MUSKET OF THE TIME OF JAMES II.
(*Rotunda Museum. By permission of the General Officer commanding Woolwich District.*)

by the Continental military powers during the latter part of the seventeenth century produced no effect upon our troops. On the contrary, for the British Army this period was fraught with change, and its efficacy as a man-killing machine was increased in many ways. Hand-grenades, small explosive bombs hurled into the ranks of the enemy by specially selected men, came into use. The invention of cartridges, containing the exact charge of powder and ball, enabled the infantry to load their muskets more rapidly, and to discard the inconvenient and dangerous bandoliers (cylinders of wood or other material, each containing a charge of powder), which before had dangled from the soldiers' cross-belts. The archaic match-lock was gradually, though very slowly, superseded by the flint-lock musket, and a bayonet was invented which could be attached to the muzzle without plugging up the barrel itself. Thus the value of the weapon, as a fire-arm and a pike combined, became at once doubled. Before this invention, only two-thirds of the men of an infantry regiment carried muskets; the remainder were armed with pikes, from thirteen to eighteen feet in length, shod with an iron spike. The duty of these pikemen was to protect the musketeers against cavalry on the march or in the field, as they staggered under the weight of a heavy match-lock, an equally heavy rest, twelve bandoliers, a powder-horn, and a heavy pouch flapping against their bodies, a bullet in their mouths, a lighted rope-match in their hands, and a sword at their belts. In addition to their pikes, the spearmen carried swords, and wore defensive armour on back and breast. As headgear, the round iron "pott" of the Commonwealth was soon replaced by a hat, shaped like a

COLLAR OF BANDOLIER, SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

(*Rotunda Museum. By permission of the General Officer commanding Woolwich District.*)

modern wide-awake and abundantly trimmed with feathers. In imitation of the royal livery, red was the favourite, though by no means the universal, colour of the coats, usually cut long and square in the skirts; while the knee-breeches or knickerbockers (for both seem to have been worn) appear to have greatly varied in hue. Lord Wolseley considers that many of the uniforms were more practical and workmanlike than those of the present Uniform.



FIGHT OF FOOT AGAINST FOOT.
(*A. Lovel, "Military Duties of Officers of the Cavalry,"* 1678.)

day; but this opinion can hardly apply to Charles II.'s Life Guards, whose costume is thus described:—

"The privates wore round hats with broad brims and a profusion of white feathers drooping over the hind part of the brim. They wore scarlet coats richly ornamented with gold lace; sleeves wide, with a slash in front and the lace lengthwise from the shoulder to the wrist; also white collars, which were very broad, and being turned over the vest, covered the neck and spread over part of the shoulders. They wore scarlet sashes round the waist, tied behind, also large ruffles at the wrist, and long hair flowing over their shoulders. Their boots were of jacked leather, and came up to the middle of the thigh. Their defensive armour were cuirasses and iron head-pieces called 'potts'; their weapons short carbines, pistols, swords, with a carbine belt suspended across

the left shoulder. They rode long-tailed horses; on public occasions the tail was usually tied up, and, together with the head and mane, decorated with a profusion of ribands." [1]

Drill. The drill of the troops appears to have been very intricate, the multiplication of orders extraordinary. Thirty-seven words of command were deemed necessary to put the soldier through the drill of loading and firing his musket; nearly fifty were employed in the pike (*i.e.* bayonet) exercise; while no less than seventy-two separate orders were required to throw infantry into hollow square to receive cavalry. The infantry company was formed six deep, the pikemen in the centre, the musketeers on the flanks; and its chief practical evolution, in addition to forming square, consisted in "doubling," *i.e.* reinforcing its front, flank and rear. The "Exercise of Horse" differed but little from that of the foot; each squadron was drawn up in three ranks; and "doublings" were practised with the modifications suited to the difference between infantry and cavalry. Artillery can hardly be said to have existed at this period. The garrison gunners were often civilians who eked out their earnings at other trades with their pay of sixpence a day, and until 1682 were quite independent of martial law. In the field the guns were worked by these men, or by soldiers from infantry regiments.

Maladministration. Since the times of the Stuarts all ranks of society have enormously improved, and nowhere is this improvement more striking than in the condition of the Army. There were no barracks, so that in the winter the troops were billeted upon the inhabitants, alike to the discomfort of the civil population and to the detriment of military discipline. The example of shameless venality set by the Court spread through the Service; the civilian officials of the War Department cheated the officers, who, in their turn, shamelessly robbed the men under their command. The system of administration lent itself to knavery of every description. The colonels contracted with Government to supply their men with clothing and accoutrements; the captains drew pay for all the soldiers whose names appeared upon the roll, and whom they could produce upon the musters periodically held to verify the officers' returns. The captains, therefore, kept numbers of paper men upon their rolls, and resorted to kidnappers to make up their numbers when a muster became imminent. In

[1] "Historical Records of Life Guards," p. 7.

LIFEGUARDSMAN IN UNIFORM, 1661.

(*Cannon's "Historical Records of the British Army."*)

1676 the kidnappers' nefarious trade was so much curtailed by Act of Parliament that the captains became obliged to hire men for the reviews. Arms, clothing, horses were borrowed, civilian servants dressed up and placed in the ranks; so rampant became the evil that bodies of men actually made a trade of tramping the country to let themselves out as dummy soldiers for muster parades. Bribery reigned supreme in the highest ranks of the Army; officers had to pay largely for every step in promotion, and accordingly looked to recoup themselves out of their commands. The wage of the ordinary infantry man was eightpence a day; yet by judicious manipulation of his company's accounts, the captain expected to rob his soldiers and his country to the extent of £200 a year; while the colonel who, in addition to his pay, did not clear from £200 to £600 a year out of his regiment, was deemed a very poor man of business. Under such a system it is hardly surprising that a good class of recruits ceased to volunteer for the life-long service which was then almost universal in our Army. There was no limit of age at which men were allowed to enlist; and the standard of physical fitness for the Service must have fallen very low, for in James's reign we find an advertisement describing a deserter "with six fingers on the left foot, on his left hand two fingers growing together, the little toe of his left foot always sticking out of his shoe."

Discipline.

The punishments for military offences were barbarous, and their legality was at least doubtful, for no Parliamentary sanction was given to the proceedings of courts-martial until the year 1689, when the first Mutiny Act was passed. A soldier was liable to be hanged or shot, or even burned at the stake, for incendiarism. For blasphemy his tongue might be bored through. He could be sentenced to branding or to "running the gauntlet" of his regiment, as well as to imprisonment, or whipping by drummers. His officers and sergeants had power to beat him. Among minor punishments two were much in vogue. One was "riding the wooden horse," where the culprit was seated for hours astride of a pointed beam, his legs dragged downwards by weights of 60 lb. fastened to each foot. The second was "tying head and heels": the victim was made to sit on the ground with one firelock "under his hams, and another over his neck, which are forcibly brought almost together by means of a couple of cartouche-box straps. In

this situation, with his chin between his knees, has many a man been kept till the blood gushed out of his nose, mouth, and ears, and ruptures have also too often been the fatal consequences, and a worthy subject lost to the Service or rendered incapable of maintaining himself when the exigencies of the State no longer required his duty."[1] Notwithstanding the severity of these punishments, discipline, especially under James II., was distinctly bad. All ranks were arrogant towards civilians; officers claimed to be above the civil power, mutinies were frequent, desertions wholesale. As an instance of the former military crime the following extract from contemporary correspondence is interesting:—

"A drummer of the Duke of Albemarle's, at Blackheath, being got drunk, and for it carrying to the horse (*i.e.* being carried to ride the wooden horse), the soldiers got together, and declared they saw no reason to punish him for what the officers had never been free from since their coming thither, and then took him from them, and rudely treated their officers, Col. Vane having a musket presented to his breast, and great disorder had like to have happened; but every Captain drawing off his men it was at last appeased, and the offenders to be punished according to the military orders now published."[2]

Parliament and the Army.

Parliament, jealous of the standing army, sought to impair the king's authority over it. By a curious anomaly in the Articles of War drawn up by James, it was specified that no punishment amounting to loss of life or limb be inflicted in time of peace; consequently deserters and mutineers were tried before the civil power; and upright judges, recognising the undefined legal position of the troops, raised and maintained as they were in defiance of Parliamentary remonstrance, declined to pronounce sentence of death upon soldiers convicted before them of mutiny and desertion. The efforts of James to turn his Army into an Irish and a Papist force only served to increase its demoralisation.

There is little to say about the land wars of this period. The constant fighting round Tangier served as a school of arms for the troops engaged; and the campaigns against the Dutch gave our men an opportunity of studying the art of war side by side with the French, then deemed the best troops in

[1] Walton, "History of British Standing Army," p. 572.

[2] Camden Soc., 1874, i., 86–87; and Scott, "British Army," iii., 308.

Europe. The battle of Sedgemoor, where Monmouth was crushed, was remarkable only as an instance of the grand fighting qualities of the British peasant. The yokels had for the most part served in the Militia, and had thus acquired some rudimentary knowledge of drill; many of the troops were newly raised; there was therefore far less difference between the civilians and the soldiers than would now be the case. But it must be remembered that the troops were led by professional officers; the rebels by religious fanatics. Yet the western ploughmen and miners bravely held their own for more than an hour against James's regular army, and only fled when their ammunition ran short and their flank was turned. Here was the raw material of that army with which a few years later Marlborough won Blenheim and Oudenarde, and gained for England a leading position among the great powers of Europe.

SCYTHES USED AT SEDGEMOOR.
(*Tower of London.*)

It has been mentioned that as early as 1653 Blake employed on board ship small-arm men (p. 374), who may be said to have done duty as marines. These were, however, engaged as a temporary measure. The first regular marine force, known as the Lord High Admiral's Regiment, was not established until 1664, soon after the Restoration. This regiment has some claims to be regarded as the lineal ancestor of the present Royal Marines, for, although it soon ceased to exist, and although the various marine organisations which followed it also ceased to exist ere the present force was created, the new organisations were always in some measure built up from parts of the *personnel* of the older ones, and thus what may be called "the marine tradition," often weak, but never entirely

W. LAIRD CLOWES. The Navy.

broken, really runs back as far as the beginning of the reign of Charles II.

Naval Activity.

The reign was one of almost continuous naval activity. Numerous expeditions were fitted out against the piratical states on the African coast of the Mediterranean, and, in addition, there were the second and third Dutch Wars, the former really begun in 1664—though not formally declared till 1665—and lasting till 1667; and the latter begun in 1671, and ending in 1674. Our possession, in the Mediterranean of Tangier, and in the East of Bombay (both portions of the

TANGIER ABOUT 1685.

(From an engraving by Oliver, after Hollar.)

Queen's dowry), greatly enlarged the sphere of English interests, and obliged us to keep large forces, and to withstand formidable attacks in waters where we had previously had no territory at stake. Tangier proved very costly, and although, if it had been retained, it would have been of the greatest value to the Empire as a naval station, it was weakly evacuated in 1683. Bombay was held. We had already acquired important commercial interests in India, but only with the acquisition of Bombay did we begin the territorial foundation of our great Indian Empire. And the capture in 1664 of New York by Sir Robert Holmes's squadron gave us new interests in America,

THE ENGLISH FLEET, UNDER THE JOINT COMMAND OF PRINCE RUPERT AND THE DUKE OF ALBEMARLE, OFF VLIELAND, AUGUST 8–10, 1666.

(*From an engraving by W. Hollar.*)

while the same gallant officer's conquests on the West Coast of Africa gained there also for us fresh responsibilities. The naval expedition, headed by Sir John Narbrough, to the South Seas led to no extensions of dominion, but served to keep alive in the navy a spirit which in the merchant service was still better fostered by men like Dampier, who, then beginning his sea-life, himself later became a naval officer.

Life in the Navy: Teonge's Diary.

The social life of the navy, at a time when events of such importance were in progress, is a subject of the greatest interest, and, happily, there has been preserved a very perfect picture of it in the diary of Henry Teonge, chaplain on board Her Majesty's ships *Assistance, Bristol,* and *Royal Oak,* 1675–79. Teonge was rector of Spernall, Warwickshire, and was fifty-four when, leaving his son to do his duty ashore, he temporarily joined the navy, chiefly, as he admitted, to relieve himself from the importunities of his creditors. Having an acute and observant mind, a love of good cheer and good company, and a taste for song and poetry, he seems to have got on very well among his new associates, and has certainly left a most charming account of them and their ways. The wardrobe necessary for a navy chaplain of those days was not extensive. Teonge had a cloak, which he pawned before joining, an old coat and breeches, an old pair of hose and shoes, a leather doublet (which he had worn for nine years), an "old fox broadsword," and a good black gown, and apparently nothing else. He was well received on board the *Assistance,* 56, in Long Reach, and having been welcomed with "part of 3 boules of punch (a liquor very strainge to me)," went to bed apparently very much the worse for his excess. Indeed, the whole ship's company was in like case, the vessel as she fell down the river being full of riotous women, singing, "loath to depart," and drinking punch and brandy. At the mouth of the river, "seeing a merchantman neare us without takeing the least notice of a man-of-warr, wee give him a shott, make him loare his top-gallant (*id est,* put off his hatt to us), and our gunner presently goes on board of him, makes him pay 6s. 6d. for his contempt, abateing him 2d. because it was the first shott." In the meantime, the good chaplain steadily increased his worldly possessions. "Early in the morning," he says, "I mett with a rugged towell on the quarter-deck, which

A CHART
of the
WESTERN
and
SOUTHERN
OCEANS
Describing the Course of
S^r John Narbrough's
Voyage to the
SOUTH SEA
I. Harris Fecit
NORTH AMERICA
NEW BRITAIN
CANADA
NOVA SCOTIA
NEW ENGLAND
VIRGINIA
CAROLINA
FLORIDA
Bahama Islands
Gulf of Florida
Gulf of Mexico
WEST INDIES
Caribbee Islands
GRANADA
GUIANA
THE GREAT SOUTH AMERICA
PERU
WILDE BRAZILE
THE SOUTH SEA
THE PACIFICK SEA
THE WESTERN OCEAN
THE SOUTHERN OCEAN
Hudsons Bay
Newfoundland
Western Isles
SPAIN
Bay of Biscay
Cape Verd Islands
Longitude from the Lizard
the Tropick of Cancer
the Tropick of Capricorn
the Aequinoctial
Terra del Fuego
Magellans Streights
Le Maire Streights
Nassaw Road
Falmouth
Plymouth
Portsmouth
Dublin
Edinburgh
Aberdeen
Londonderry
Gallway
Dingle B.
Lisbon
Madera
Canary I.
Tenariff
Palma
Ferro
Gomera
Bermudas
Barbadoes
Antego
Martinico
Guadaloupe
Montserrat
Nevis
Christophers
Jamaica
Hispaniola
Cuba
Florida
Yucatan
Campeachy
Mexico
Acapulco
Panama
Darien
Carthagena
Rio de la Hacha
Maracaibo
Coro
Caracas
Margarita
Trinidad
Tobago
Curaçoa
Aruba
Bonaire
Orinoco
Amazones
Rio de la Plata
Buenos Ayres
Rio Janeiro
Bahia de Todos Santos
Pernambuco
Rio Grande
Cape Frio
Cape Corrientes
Cape Blanco
Cape Gallegos
Cape Horn
Cape Virgins
Cape Deseada
Cape Victoria
Cape Francois
Cape Tiburon
Cape Nicholas
Cape Antonio
Cape Florida
Cape Hatteras
Cape Fear
Cape Henry
Cape Charles
Cape Cod
Cape Sable
Cape Race
Cape Breton
Cape Canseau
Cape Tormentine
Cape Anticosti
Cape Gaspe
Cape Finisterre
Cape Vincent
Cape Spartel
Cape Blanco
Cape Bojador
Cape Verd
Cape Mesurado
Cape Palmas
Cape Lopez
Cape Negro
Cape Lopez
Cape Corrientes
Cape Negro
Cape Lopez
Cape Negro
Cape Lopez
Cape Negro
Cape Lopez

I soone secured. And soone after," adds Teonge, "Providence brought me" various articles of domestic use, which were "all very helpfull to him that had nothing." On his second Sunday at sea, he says, "I preached my first sermon on ship-board; where I could not stand without holding by boath the pillars in the steareage; and the Captaine's chayre and others were ready to tilt downe, sometimes backwards, sometimes forward." All women, including the captain's wife, were put ashore at Dover, the departure of the ladies being honoured "with 3 cheares, 7 guns, and our trumpetts sounding." The anti-Dutch feeling and the jealousy of the flag crop up very early in the diary. The *Assistance* tacked towards a Dutch man-of-war, "which they soone perceiving (like a cowardly dogg that lys downe when he sees one com that he feares), loares not only his top-sayle, but claps his sayle to the mast, and lys by." After a little giddiness, Teonge began to find himself quite at home, "no life at the shoare being comparable to this at sea, where we have good meate and good drinke provided for us, and good company, and good divertisments; without the least care, sorrow or trouble; which will be continued if wee forget not our duety; viz., loyalty and thankfullness." The officers dined at noon. Off the Isle of Wight, "2 seamen that had stolen a peice or two of beife were thus shamed: they had their hands tyd behind them, and themselves tyd to the maine mast, each of them a peice of raw beife tyd about their necks in a coard, and the beife bobbing before them like the knott of a cravatt; and in this posture they stood 2 howers." As she went down Channel, the ship pressed men out of traders to make up her complement. "And towards evening wee ly on the deck, and drink healths to the king and our wives in boules of punch." In the Bay, he tells us, "we overhaul the seamen's chests, and order only 2 for a messe and the rest to be staved, lest they trouble the ship in a fight." Off the Rock of Lisbon "our noble Capt. feasted the officers of his small squadron with 4 dishes of meate, viz., 4 excellent henns and a peice of pork boyled, in a dish; a giggett of excellent mutton and turnips; a peice of beife of 8 ribbs, well seasoned and roasted; and a couple of very fatt greene geese; last of all a greate Chesshyre cheese; a rare feaste at shoare. His liquors were answerable, viz., Canary,

Punishments.

A Feast.

Sherry, Renish, Clarett, white wine, syder, ale, beare, all of the best sort; and punch like" (*i.e.* as plentiful as) "ditchwater." The ship in due course made Tangier, the English-built defences of which are described. Off Gibraltar, so Teonge declares, "every on that hath not yet beene in the Straites pays his doller, or must be duckt at yard arme." Off Malaga the captain began to exercise his men with their muskets. At Alicante the officers went ashore to see a bull-fight. In the Gulf of Lyon he notes: "This day we have a fayre on our quarter deck: viz., our purser opens his pack, and sells, to the value of 30 pounds or more, shirts, drawers, wascots, neckcloats, stockings, shooes, and takes no money for them; this is newes." The supplies were, of course, as now, charged against the men's pay. A little later: "wee fix our chasing sayle, or water sayle, at the poope of our ship, to try how twill doe against wee have occasion to make use of it." On Monday mornings the boys who had misbehaved themselves during the previous week were "whipt with a catt with 9 tayles for their misdemeanurs, by the boarsons mate." At Malta a boat came off and "asked if wee had a bill of health for prattick, viz., entertaynment: our Capt. told them that he had no bill but what was in his gunors' mouths." While lying in

TRIPOLI ABOUT 1675. (*By W. Hollar.*)

the harbour, "to show our strength all our ports are opened, and all our gunns thrust out, as though we were going to fite; and our ship cloathed through out with new wast-cloaths, and new sayles." The *Assistance* arrived off Tripoli a few days after Sir John Narbrough's bombardment of that town. A fortnight afterwards, the fleet being still blockading the place, Teonge notes: "This morn by on of the clock our pinnace and 3 more went a cruising; and in a frolic Sir John himselfe, with those that were in the boats, went all upon the Turk's shoare, and there displayed the English coulors, and cam on board againe." From Tripoli the ship was despatched in search of four Tripolitans, which had run the blockade. At Zante a seaman, named Skinner, "for goeing on shoare without leave, had his leggs tyd together, his hands tyd to a greate rope, and stood on the syd of the ship to be hoysted up to the yard arme, and from thence to dropp downe in to the water 3 times; but he lookeing so very pittifully . . . was spared." Off Candia the captain gave a dinner-party in his cabin. The ship tossed so much that the principal joint, a rump of salt beef, was placed on the deck. "And we all sat closse round about the beife, som securing themselves from slurring by setting their feete against the table, which was fast tyd downe. The Leiuetenant set his feete against the bedd, and the captaine set his back against a chayre which stood by the syd of the ship. Severall tumbles wee had, wee and our plates, and our knives slurrd oft together. Our liquor was white rubola, admirable good. Wee had also a couple of fatt pulletts; and whilst wee were eating of them a sea cam, and forced into the cabin through the chinks of a porthole, which, by lookeing behind me, I just discovered when the water was coming under me. I soone got up, and no whitt wet; but all the rest were well washed." A captain's fore-cabin arrangements were clearly not quite what they are now. At Scanderoon, "the Consull, Mr. Low, cam on board to welcom us, and brought foules and herbs to us. At his going off we gave him 5 gunns, and our trumpetts sounding 'Mayds, where are your harts,' etc." When the Pasha of the place visited the ship, "our Captaine haveing notice of it, put her in a posture as if wee were going to fight, viz., our trumpetts sownding, pendant—all colours—flying; our gunns all run out

of their ports; garlands lay in all places filled with shott, round and dubbleheaded; tubbs full of cartrages and wadds stood by, and cowles full of water, etc.; and a tyle of musketteers stretched from the stand to the greate cabin." In port, opportunities were as often as possible seized for scraping the ship and tallowing the decks, masts, and yards, and on Saturday evenings, whether in port or at sea, there was always a great deal of drinking. The account of the funeral of the boatswain, who died at Scanderoon, is noteworthy. "He had a neate coffin, which was covered over with on of the King's jacks, and his boarson's sylver whisle and chaine layd on the top (to show his office) betweene 2 pistolls crost with a hangar drawne. At his going off the ship he had 9 gunns, which were fyred at a minut's distance. And 8 trompetts sownding dolefully, whereof the 4 in the first ranke began, and the next 4 answered; so that ther was a continued dolefull tone from the ship to the shoare, and from thence to the grave. Halfe the ship's company, with their musketts in the right posture, going after the corps, with all the officers of all the ships that were there, I mye selfe goeing immediately before, and the trumpetts before me. . . . I buryed him according to our Common Prayer booke. . . . When he was buryed he had 4 peales of muskett shott. And as soone as we were out of the church yard the trumpetts sounded merry levitts all the way." Honoured visitors to the vessel always, it appears, "dranke Snt. George in a rummar as they went over the ship syd." After the death of the boatswain "our Captaine calls all hands up: and called Mr. Nathaniel Berry, and gave him authority to exercise the office of boateswaine, and bad all take notice of it; also gave him a cane, and bad him use it with discretion." In the next storm, says Teonge, "we received but small detryment, but the losse of good beife and porke, which stood at the head of the ship to be watered; and so it was, for twas all driven away, tubbs and all." Christmas Day at sea was thus kept: "At 4 in the morning our trumpeters all doe flatt their trumpetts, and begin at our Captain's cabin, and thence to all the officers' and gentlemen's cabins: playing a levite at each cabine doore, and bidding good morrow, wishing a merry Christmas. After they goe to their station, viz., on the poope, and sound 3 levitts in honour of the morning. At 10 we goe

Christmas at Sea.

to prayers and sermon; text, Zach. ix. 9. Our Captaine had all his officers and gentlemen to dinner with him, where wee had excellent good fayre: a ribb of beife, plumb-puddings, minct pyes, etc., and plenty of good wines of severall sorts; dranke healths to the King, to our wives and friends; and ended the day with much civill myrth." On Twelfth Night, "wee had a greate kake made, in which was put a beane for the King, a pease for the queen, a cloave for the knave, a forked stick for the coockold, a ragg for the slutt. The kake was cutt into severall peices in the great cabin, and all putt into a napkin, out of which every on took his peice, as out of a lottery: then each peice is broaken to see what was in it, which caused much laughter, to see our leiutenant prove the coockold, and more to see us tumble on over the other in the cabin, by reason of the ruff weather." But if there was good fellowship aft, there was strict discipline on the lower deck. "This day," says the chaplain, writing off Pantelaria, "David Thomas, and Martin, the coock, and our master's boy, had their hand stretched out, and with their backs to the rayles, and the master's boy with his back to the maine mast, all looking on upon the other, and in each of their mouths a maudlen-spike, viz., an iron pinn clapt closse into their mouths, and tyd behind their heads; and there they stood a whole houre, till their mouths were very bloody: an excellent cure for swearers." On the anniversary of Charles the First's death, "wee shew all the signs of morning as possible wee can, viz., our jacks and flaggs only halfe staff high; and at 5 a clock in the afternoone our ship fyred 20 gunns; the trumpetts at the close ringing the bells on the trumpetts very dolefully, and also the gunns fyreing at halfe a minute distance. Then the *Dartmouth* fyre 18 guns at the same distance, and their trumpetts also the same; and our 2 murchants fyred 16 a peice. After all our trumpetts sounded 'Well-a-day,' the *Dartmouth* did the same, and so wee ended the day mornfully." Mr. Teonge left the Thames in July, 1675. In April, 1676, he writes in his diary: "I made my sheetes; and this is the first night that I lay in sheetes, since I cam from England." The *Assistance* went thrice to the Levant, but did not fall in with the Tripolitans. On the way home she met four French men-of-war and a settee, The French admiral, Teonge says, "sent his pinnace to salute us.

Twelfth Night.

Discipline for Swearers.

and asks us if we wanted anything: our Captaine sayd he wanted nothing that he would be beholding to such rogues as they were for. The gentleman that cam was an English man, whoe desyred our Captaine not to take it ill, for that they had order from the French King to furnish the English with whatsoever they wanted. Our Captaine gave them thanks, and sayd he wanted nothing." A few days after this uncourteous display of British independence there was a terrible storm, of which Teonge relates: "About 4 in the morning the seas groe far more outragious, and breake clearly over our quarter deck; drive our hen-cubbs overboard; and washed on of our seamen cleane off the crotchett yard. A second sea cam and threw down all our boomes; brake boath pinnace and long boate on the decks. A third cam, and flung our anchor off the ship syd, flung the bell out of his place, brake off the carving, and pulld 2 planks a sunder in the midst of the ship, between decks, and just against the pump. Our forcastle was broake all downe longe before. Now the men are all dishartened, and all expect nothing but the losse of ship and life. Our larboard gunnhill all broake up, a whole planke almost out betweene decks; men swimming about in the wast of the ship; and greate seas often breaking over us." Yet by good seamanship and resource the vessel was saved. She reached England without further mishap, took out her guns, powder, and shot near Gravesend off Half-Way Tree, and, proceeding to Deptford, paid off, "the rottenest frigot that ever cam to England."

Equally full of interesting matter is the record of Teonge's next voyage as chaplain, first of the *Bristol* and afterwards of the *Royal Oak;* but enough has been already quoted to show the general nature of the naval life of the period. The officers were rough, hearty, insular fellows, hating and despising all foreigners, content with little luxury, honest, and coarse-minded, as well as coarse-mannered. The "custom of the sea," already perfectly well established, was not very different, save in being more cruel and less civilised, from what it is now.

Naval Reforms under James II.

James II., besides being a brave and capable naval commander, was an ardent and far-seeing naval reformer; and he had an admirable assistant in Samuel Pepys, who, from 1673, when James, then Duke of York, was Lord High Admiral, was for many years Secretary of the Navy. Many of his other subordinates were, unhappily, more interested in their own welfare

than in that of the service. Before he had the advantage of Pepys's help, the Duke reformed the Navy Board, which, by commission under the Great Seal, was appointed to consist thenceforth of a Comptroller, a Surveyor, a Treasurer, a Clerk of

JAMES DUKE OF YORK, LORD HIGH ADMIRAL.
(*After the painting by Sir G. Kneller.*)

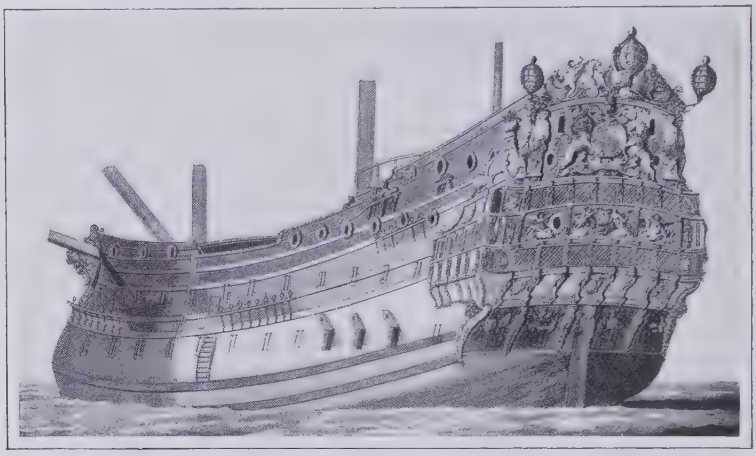
the Navy, and three Commissioners, each with their separate and well-defined duties. A little later, in 1663, he fixed an established number of men for ships of war of the several rates, and defined the number of servants allowed to captains and other officers. In the following year he established an allowance of table money, whereby flag-officers, without expense to themselves, were enabled

to entertain foreigners and other people of distinction, and so to keep creditable state abroad, and he also first appointed a Surgeon-General to the fleet. In 1666 he made the salutary innovation of granting gratuities to captains who had been wounded in action. In 1668 he furthered the passing of an Act for the enclosing and planting with oak trees for the Navy of 11,000 acres of waste lands in the Forest of Dean. In 1670 he supported the granting of a charter to the Hudson's Bay Company. And in 1673 he introduced the practice of allotting cabins to officers, the greater number of whom had not previously possessed any; established a system of half-pay for captains; and made the first important experiments in sheathing men-of-war. After Pepys joined him, his reforms and innovations were still more numerous. In 1674 he ordered commodores to wear broad-pennants. In 1675 he procured an order in Council conceding half-pay to certain masters in the Navy. And he drew up regulations, many of which still govern the practice of the service, and which, for very many years after his death, remained practically unaltered. In 1683, moreover, he established the Victualling Office. The victualling of the Navy had previously been done by contract, and had been a perpetual source of grave abuses. He gave the business into the hands of commissioners, who, by their agents at the ports, contracted for all provisions abroad as well as at home. They also supervised the naval bakehouses and brewhouses, accepted bills drawn abroad by pursers for the service of His Majesty's ships, and audited and passed the pursers' accounts. After his accession, James appointed four additional Commissioners of the Navy, in order that more minute attention might be paid to the docks and storehouses; granted the first patents for the distillation of fresh from salt water; introduced a rule directing all commanding officers to deposit copies of their journals with the Admiralty; built the first bomb-vessel to throw shells; and reorganised the scale of pay for captains, who, he was of opinion, suffered somewhat from the vigorous and unflinching manner in which he had put a stop to their long-enjoyed privileges in the matter of certain perquisites. The new scale gave a captain of a first-rate, in pay and table-money, £523 15s.; the captain of a third-rate, £348 5s.; the captain of a fifth-rate, £209 10s.; and the captain of a sixth-

rate, £174 a year. During the whole of his public career in England, both as Lord High Admiral and as King, James never ceased to give all his attention to the welfare of the Navy, and, although he reigned less than four years, he left the fleet, which, at his accession, had numbered 113 sail, the stronger by about sixty vessels great and small. If all his subordinates had supported him as well as Pepys did, this fleet would have been a splendid one.

Naval Strength.

The nature of the vessels of which James's fleet consisted may be judged from a brief analysis of the Navy list of 1684.



AN ENGLISH SECOND-RATE OF 1670.
(After Vandevelde.)

There were then 9 first-rates, of which the largest was the *Britannia*, of 1,715 tons and 100 guns; 14 second-rates, of which the largest was the *Duke*, of 1,546 tons and 90 guns; 39 third-rates, of which the largest was the *Grafton*, of 1,184 tons and 70 guns; 42 fourth-rates, of which the largest were the *Golden Horse*, a prize, of 722 tons and 46 guns, and the *Woolwich*, of 716 tons and 54 guns; 11 fifth-rates, of which the largest was the *Sapphire*, of 346 tons and 32 guns; 8 sixth-rates, of which the largest was the *Greyhound*, of 175 tons and 16 guns; 5 sloops; 12 fireships; 18 yachts; 8 miscellaneous small-craft; and 8 hulks, chiefly prizes, the total burthen being 101,273 tons. Improvement had been steady, if somewhat slow,

during the Jacobean and Carolean period. The form of ships' bottoms had been altered greatly for the better; and the practice of sheathing them with lead had assisted their speed at sea, though, owing to the galvanic action which was thus set up with rudder-pintles and other ironwork, and which was not then understood, the system met with but partial adoption, and was soon again disused. Bluff bows and square high sterns

MODEL OF H.M.S. *BRITANNIA*, 1682.
(*Trinity House, London. By permission of the Elder Brethren.*)

had begun to give way to sharper forward lines and sterns more taper and less lofty; and the experience of several hotly contested wars had caused us to discard much of what was worst in our own methods of construction, and to imitate all of what was best in foreign designs.

It is remarkable that although James II. was himself a sailor, as well as an enthusiastic naval reformer and a good friend both to officers and seamen, his fall was largely brought about by the action of the service, within which, indeed, there

The Navy and the Revolution.

were very few who championed his declining cause. Some, certainly, resigned rather than give in their allegiance to the new order of things, but the Navy as a whole went over to William and Mary without much hesitation. James was not able to collect, for the defence of his realms, a single squadron upon the loyalty of which he could rely, nor did he carry with him into exile a single English man-of-war. In the Army he had a considerable following for many a year. In the Navy, where he might have expected a much larger one, he had none worth mentioning. This was due to two facts. One was that the Navy was intensely Protestant. The other was that the most distinguished flag officers, and all those leaders who in the Navy had the greatest influence and commanded the deepest confidence, were politically opposed to the principles of James's policy. Dartmouth was an exception. He adhered to the king, and suffered for his devotion. But the profound Protestant feeling of the Navy was stronger than its natural loyalty. Sir Roger Strickland, Rear-Admiral of England, who belonged to the Roman faith, could not get men to man his flagship, and so could not remain in the service.

Naval Mismanagement.

But, although James II. kept the Navy as much as possible under his own eye, and although he had an admirable helper in Pepys, there was, as there had throughout the Stuart period been, much peculation and malversation among the Admiralty subordinate officials, especially in the dockyards and in the departments; for, writing to Lord Dartmouth, almost at the moment of the landing of William, Pepys says: "I must pray your Lordshipp, as Master of the Ordnance, to forgive me the dischargeing myself of what I cannot but hold myselfe accomptable for to the King in you as Admirall of his fleet, by observing to you that, however matters may be represented to you from the office, there is not one shipp now behind you from whose commander I doe not daily hear of want of gunns, carriages, shot, or something else relating thereto." Sir John Berry, at the same time, complained: "There is not any round shot come to the *Elizabeth*. I have no flaggs to answer signalls, nor pendants: they have sent me only two blew flaggs: what they mean by that I know not." And Pepys laments: "How it has come to pass I know not . . . but soe it is, that the King has understood from Captain

Constable that the *St. Albans* has four ports on the quarter-deck which the establishment has provided no guns for. . . . It is a little uneasy with me to believe that there can have been any such mistake in the establishment." As for Strickland, even before he discovered that he could not get men to serve with him, he objected that his ship, the *Mary*, was "so very crancke"; and having been given the *Cambridge* instead, he presently found her "so foul and ill-fitted" that he begged to be re-transferred to the *Mary*. Many vessels broke down; others proved dangerously leaky. It is not very astonishing. Corruption was the fashion of the age, and testimony that funds granted for specific purposes were seldom, if ever, wholly applied to those purposes, is unfortunately only too abundant. The consequent unpreparedness of the fleet was mainly responsible for the negative result of the battle of Bantry Bay and for the frankly lamentable result of the battle of Beachy Head, at the beginning of the next reign. In neither case were the admirals and captains to blame.

REGINALD HUGHES. Architecture and Art: Wren.

The first half of the seventeenth century may, with but a slight adjustment of the dates, be correctly termed the era of Inigo Jones. The second half of the century may, with even more propriety, be termed the era of Christopher Wren. Inigo Jones died in June, 1652. Wren was then a youth of twenty, but he was already famous for his mathematical gifts, and on his way to a fellowship at All Souls', Oxford. His original bent seems to have been to astronomy, and he was early elected professor at Gresham College. But his talents in other fields must have been widely bruited, for John Evelyn speaks of him in 1654 as "that miracle of a youth, Mr. Wren." Architecture, and particularly ecclesiastical architecture, was naturally at a standstill during the Civil War and under Cromwell; but after the Restoration, Charles decided to go on with various works commenced by his father. Finding Denham, the then incumbent of the office of Surveyor-General, wholly incompetent, he applied, on what is surmised to have been the advice of Evelyn, to Wren. He was called on by the king to execute repairs in Old St. Paul's, and, while studying for these, was also engaged on building Pembroke

Chapel at Cambridge. His uncle, Bishop Matthew Wren, had been imprisoned in the Tower; and when, at the Restoration, he regained his liberty, he determined to commemorate his release by giving a new chapel to his old college. His nephew supplied the designs, in which, following the tradition of his great predecessor, he endeavoured to obtain beauty by proportion alone. The building has now been restored out of all knowledge, but as designed by Wren it was undoubtedly harmonious and pleasing. The year before the dedication of Pembroke Chapel Wren was commissioned to fulfil the desire of another prelate, Archbishop Sheldon, at Oxford; and the ease with which he surmounted the difficulty of covering an area of seventy feet by eighty with a roof without any central support shows that he had by this time, though how we do not know, completely mastered the technical difficulties of his business.

The works at St. Paul's do not seem to have been proceeding very fast when the Plague of 1665 stopped them altogether. Wren improved the moment to pay a visit to Paris, a city famous for the work of Le Mercier, and where Mansard was actually planning the Invalides. Thither Bernini, too, had been summoned by Louis XIV. to provide designs for the Louvre; so that the moment of Wren's visit was happily chosen. It is an odd coincidence that the most successful design in France, of this period, should have been that of an amateur, the physician Perrault, while Wren, another amateur, was about to astonish the world in England. Just at this juncture there came the fortunate calamity of the Great Fire, which afforded an epoch-making opportunity for the display of his talents. "He restored London," says Horace Walpole, and "the noblest temple, the largest palace, the most sumptuous hospital in Britain, are all works of the same hand." The list of his achievements is stupendous. In or near London he built St. Paul's Cathedral, above fifty parish churches, the Monument, Temple Bar, a royal exchange, the western tower of Westminster Abbey, and Marlborough House, besides Chelsea Hospital, perhaps the poorest, and Greenwich, perhaps the finest, of his secular buildings. In Oxford he built the Tom Tower, or Campanile, at Christ Church; the Sheldonian Theatre, and the Ashmolean; and at Cambridge, Pembroke Chapel and the library of Trinity. He worked,

Restoration of London.

INTERIOR OF ST. JAMES'S CHURCH, PICCADILLY.

besides, at Winchester and Hampton Court, at Windsor, and elsewhere. And in all this mass of work, in his least as in his most successful labours, he shows himself, notwithstanding his intense individuality, not only a true descendant of Palladio, but the greatest exponent in all Europe of the doctrine that architecture is proportion.

St. Paul's Cathedral.

The most famous of all his works is, of course, the great Metropolitan Church of St. Paul's. The foundation stone was laid in 1675, and the building was practically completed in thirty-five years. It is, of course, not according to Wren's original design. Internally that design would, no doubt, have been more satisfactory than the one finally adopted, for it would have shown a series of prospects, gradually increasing in magnificence, from the entrance to the great central dome. Beyond these would have been nothing, for the small choir would have hardly counted; so that the present anti-climax would have been avoided. Externally, however, it is superb. The roof is of wood, over a stone vault, but that is a common, almost a universal, feature in Gothic churches. Used as this roof is in St. Paul's, it has given rise to the criticism that St. Paul's is not a dome at all, but a tower; and it is true that the interior dome has little relation to the exterior. The lantern is, in fact, carried on a vast cone of brickwork, built up from the drum of the inner dome; and the outside, perfectly admirable as it is, has no constructive justification. But, after all, artistic purism may surely be silent in the presence of such a masterpiece of outline. Discussions on the originality of artistic work are not very profitable, and it is impossible to know whether Mansard's design for the dome of the Invalides, not completed till after 1680, helped Wren at St. Paul's. So, too, of the coupled columns of which Wren made use, and which, in some sense, form a distinguishing mark of his style: did he get a hint from Perrault, who undoubtedly applied them to the façade of the Louvre? These speculations have a certain importance in regard to the question of originality, but between St. Paul's and the work of Mansard and Perrault there is all the difference between genius and ability.

Wren's Scheme of Decoration.

That Wren intended to rely, to some extent, on colour for the decoration of St. Paul's is certain, though how far he intended to go is uncertain. He left on record his intention "to beautify the inside of the cupola with Mosaick work," and that portions of the apse and the domes of nave, choir, and

St. Bride's, Fleet Street.

St. Mary-le-Bow.

TWO OF WREN'S CHURCHES.

transept were intended to have similar decoration is evidenced by the fact that he left their surfaces unfinished, or only finished in plaster. The area thus left to be covered amounts to about 26,000 square feet, which, if Fate approve and Sir W. B. Richmond, R.A., survive, will, by the early years of the present century, be covered, as intended by the seventeenth-century architect. That Wren should have contemplated any scheme of colour decoration is in itself proof of his independence, for the taste, and still more the religion, of England had a decided preference for whitewash, and naturally found the monochromes of Sir J. Thornhill altogether preferable to the architect's mosaics. But it is not in the Cathedral alone that Wren shines as a genius in church architecture. Few interiors in any style of the Renaissance are more beautiful than St. Stephen's, Walbrook. The spire of St. Mary-le-Bow is another wonder, for it goes far to demonstrate that the grace of a Gothic steeple can be obtained by means which are purely classical. His ingenuity was indeed unbounded, and of this Greenwich Hospital, though it was not wholly completed till the reign of George III., is a leading instance. Here he was hampered by the necessity of working in a fragment of the old Tudor palace, and the whole of the new palace built by Webb (Inigo Jones's pupil) for Charles II. This he accomplished with supreme success, and the colonnade, composed of his favourite coupled columns, with the domes over hall and chapel, is really magnificent. Before it was finished,

ST. VEDAST, FOSTER LANE, CITY OF LONDON.

Greenwich Hospital.

however, the heavy hand of Vanbrugh was brought in to mar the grace and symmetry of Wren's work. Wren did much for William III., as well as for his predecessors and for Queen Anne; although little was done, and that not very well done, for Hampton Court. Yet his designs for that palace show that if he had had his way, he would have converted it into one of the most grandiose in Europe; for he designed two colonnaded wings, three hundred feet long, on each side of the hall, and a grand approach through the horse-chestnuts of Bushey Park. It is

Hampton Court.

THE FOUNTAIN COURT, HAMPTON COURT.

somewhat difficult to decipher, at this day, what parts of the existing building belong to Wren and what to his successors. But he certainly finished the east front, with its four Corinthian columns, and the beautiful Fountain Court, on the cloister of which his initials occur.

Wren's career does not admit of being split into periods. He was at work on the Cathedral, as we have seen, at least as early as 1663, when we find his name in the commission to restore the church. He was still working at Hampton Court in 1718. His commanding personality, acting during so long a period, left its imprint not only on architecture, but on the

Wren's School.

architects of two generations. His pupil, Hawksmoor, then became the builder of St. George's, Bloomsbury, and of the towers of All Souls' at Oxford. Gibbs, who designed St. Mary-le-Strand, St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, and the Radcliffe at Oxford, also imitated him, though perhaps not so perfectly as Kent, the architect of Holkham, whose worship of Inigo Jones must have

THE TWIN TOWERS, ALL SOULS' COLLEGE, OXFORD.

made him keenly appreciative of the talent of Jones's architectural heir. Besides these, James, who built St. George's, Hanover Square; Campbell, who designed Wanstead House; Archer, who is responsible for St. John's at Westminster; and Cooper, the architect of Bath;—belonged to his school. None of these were men of great talent—indeed, the ablest and most individual architects of the generation after Wren were Vanbrugh the

dramatist, and the Earl of Burlington the virtuoso. As regards the latter, Kent resided in his house for many years, and played profitably the part of "ghost" to his noble patron, as Campbell claimed to have done at an earlier date. But the association was certainly fortunate, for it gave to the world the famous volumes of their "Inigo Jones." Between them they refronted Burlington House, subsequently ruined by injudicious alterations.

Sir John Vanbrugh was an architect of more original temper, though singularly insensible to beauty, either of outline or detail. The epitaph—

> "Lie heavy on him, earth, for he
> Laid many a heavy load on thee"—

is trite enough, but it is an excellent criticism on his style. A feeling for mass is the chief merit of Sir John Vanbrugh, and if he had only been employed to build Bastilles, or Pyramids, or colossal tombs, he might have left a great reputation. As it is, he has left only remarkable country houses, such as Blenheim Palace and Castle Howard. It was said that his selection as architect of Blenheim was due to a

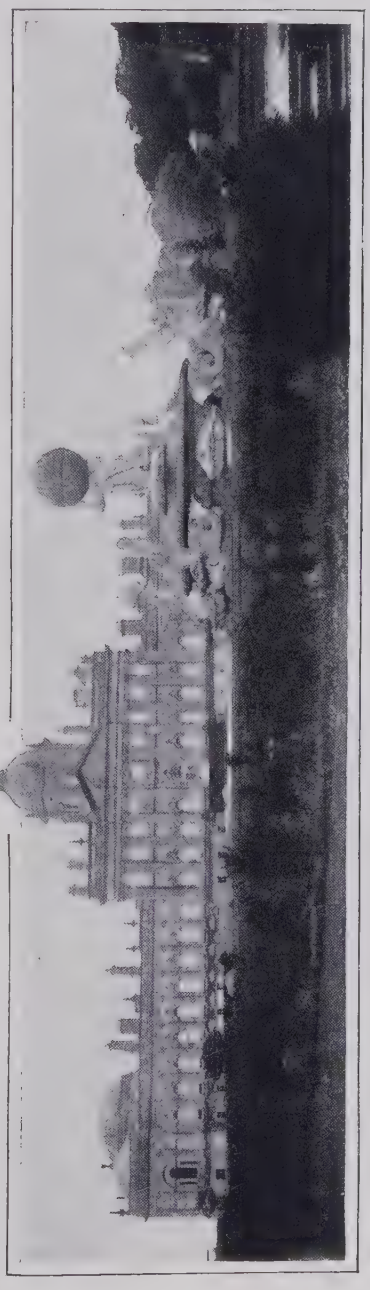


Photo: Doole & Sons, Driffield.

CASTLE HOWARD.

quarrel between the famous Sarah and Christopher Wren over Marlborough House; but, at any rate, he became a sort of rival of the older man, and his general acceptance points to the fact that the English, as a nation, had then—as, perhaps, they have now—no critical appreciation of any form of art which is strongly tinctured with classicality. At Blenheim Vanbrugh had, in fact, a unique opportunity. Unlike Wren

Blenheim.

—who, at St. Paul's, and Greenwich, and elsewhere, was hampered by royal and clerical interference, and by the necessity of conciliating divergent religious animosities, by the parsimony of his patrons, and by the limitations of space at his command—Vanbrugh had an unrivalled site, a free hand in his design, and ample supplies of money. In bigness, Blenheim certainly leaves nothing to be desired, and the thickness of the casement mouldings, the air of gloomy solidity, are unsurpassed. But no feeling for proportion can be discovered. Mr. Ferguson, his most favourable critic, points out that the order is so gigantic as to dwarf everything near it, and that the lines are confused and wanting in repose. Castle Howard is, no doubt, better, though here again Vanbrugh has in the centre used columns of a size appropriate for the dwellings of giants, and columns of exactly the same kind, but adapted to the use of men, in the wings. He was much less successful at Seaton Delaval and Grimsthorpe, where the large coarseness of his details becomes "offensive from the smallness of what they are intended to decorate." The best that can be said of Sir John Vanbrugh's designs is that they are not merely the still-births of memory; on the contrary, they are thoroughly characteristic and individual. This, no doubt, is something, and it entitles Vanbrugh to consideration in any sketch, however slight, of English architecture. But it is difficult to conceive anything further removed from the subtly calculated perfection of ancient art. English architecture reaches, in Vanbrugh, the edge of the pit. A method which depends on the austere graces of order and balance and proportion cannot be applied by a rule of thumb, and there is no trace of any other rule in his work. The impossibility of having a living classical style in England seems demonstrated by this: that only in the hands of genius has it ever been tolerable. From such hands, it is true, we have had noble examples;

Castle Howard.

but directly it has passed from them it has become, even with men of ability and character, lifeless, meaningless, and unattractive.

Painting under the Commonwealth.

After the breaking out of the strife between king and Parliament, the only art that commanded the attention of the well-to-do had been that of war. Nor had the Puritan ascendancy under the Commonwealth been much more favourable to artists. "The sectaries," it has been said, "ran into the extreme against politeness." It is certain, however, that Cromwell, who loved music, admired also the art of the painter. He secretly arranged the purchase of the cartoons and other works in the royal collection. He also patronised Peter Van der Fas—a Dutchman born at a place called Soest, probably the village of that name near Utrecht, not the Soest in Westphalia. He seems to have come to England in 1643, and is better known by the name of Lely, a sobriquet adopted by his father. It was while sitting to Peter Lely that the Protector insisted that he was not to be flattered in his picture, and to have bidden him "remark all these roughnesses, pimples, warts, and everything as you see me; otherwise, I will never pay a farthing for it." Cromwell's patronage was not confined to Lely, and his favourite artist was Robert Walker. This man to some extent filled the position of official portraitist under Cromwell, and, after the Government seized Arundel House, was given a residence there. He painted not only the Protector himself, but Ireton, Fleetwood, Keeper Keble, and Lambert. The fact that Lambert, a Parliamentary general and a friend of Cromwell's, was himself an amateur painter, is perhaps the most suggestive fact connected with art in Cromwell's reign. If we except Lely, whose chief work was done later, Walker alone, of the Commonwealth artists, left more than a name. Several works of his have been identified, which show him to have possessed a dry but individual talent. The rest—Mascall, Fairfax, Loveday, and Wray—are mere names. Of course, other painters of Charles I., such as Richard Gibson the dwarf, and Samuel Cooper the excellent miniaturist, who, his admirers declared, was greater than Vandyck, continued their work in the succeeding reigns; but with the exception of Cooper, who painted pretty nearly all the magnates of the Commonwealth, they more properly

Lely.

belong to the reigns of Cromwell's predecessor or of Cromwell's successor.

Painting at the Restoration.

At the Restoration, Peter Lely took possession of the artistic throne vacant by the deaths of Vandyck and Dobson. He had received favours from Charles I., and the office of Sergeant Painter, although practically worthless, was conferred on him while the Civil Wars were raging. From the date of his arrival in England in or prior to 1643, he gave himself to portraiture, which he practised with extraordinary success until his death in 1680. Most of his portraits are three-quarter lengths, a majority of them of ladies dressed "in silken night-gowns, fastened with a single pin." He was, however, a considerable master of drapery, though in an extremely artificial way. He had a considerable business amongst male sitters, too, and painted a certain number of mythological and sacred subjects, which, like "Jupiter and Europa," "Susanna and the Elders," appealed to the taste of the time. His is a low form of art, but it is admirably in keeping with contemporary manners. When we look at the long rows of his ladies at Hampton Court, this accomplished mannerist perfectly explains to us the feeling of the shocked and zealous Puritan who published, two years before Lely's death, "Cooke's Just and Reasonable Reprehensions of Naked Breasts and Shoulders."

English Painters.

Lely was, as we have seen, a foreigner—and, indeed, after Dobson, there is no considerable English name among painters until we reach Hogarth. A few Englishmen, however, have just escaped oblivion — Isaac Fuller, for instance, who certainly did not lack a *vates sacer*, for no less a person than Addison wrote a Latin poem on the altar-cloth (now lost) that he painted for Wadham College. He was further employed to paint a series of large pictures of King Charles's escape after Worcester, which the king presented to the Parliament of Ireland. He also had a considerable vogue as a decorator of ceilings and panels in taverns. Robert Streater was a contemporary whose work ran on similar lines, though Evelyn calls him "that excellent painter of perspective and landscape." He was employed a good deal at Oxford, and Pepys has the following entry relating to him:—

"Went to see Mr. Streater, the famous history painter, where I found Dr. Wren and other virtuosos looking upon the paintings he is making for the new theatre at Oxford; and, indeed, they look as they would be very fine, and the rest think better done than those of Rubens at Whitehall; but I do not fully think so. But they will certainly be very noble, and I am mightily pleased to have the fortune to see this man and his work, which is very famous; and he is a very civil little man, and lame, but lives very handsomely."

Of Lely's English pupils only a few attained anything like eminence. Of these the least obscure were John Greenhill, on whom Aphra Behn wrote an elegy; Anne Killigrew, the paragon of whom Lely made an unusually individual portrait; and Mary Beale, who, like Fuller, had poems written in her honour. Of those who were uninfluenced by the great Court painter, the name of Michael Wright has survived. His fame was to some extent founded on a series of portraits of the judges, for which, in the first instance, Lely had been commissioned. The story is curious, as showing the position of a successful painter in the seventh decade of the seventeenth century. The citizens of London, grateful for the services of the twelve judges in settling the litigation which arose after the Great Fire, resolved that their portraits should be placed in the Guildhall. To this end they applied to Sir Peter, and he accepted the commission; but finding that the judges would not come to his studio to sit, he declined to proceed. The commission was then transferred to the less exigent Wright, who received for the portraits no less than £60 apiece.

Foreign Painters in England.

Charles II. did not inherit his father's artistic tastes, his feeling for beauty being purely animal. During his exile, however, he and his courtiers had seen the splendours of Louis XIV.'s Court, whereof Le Sueur and Lebrun were the luminaries. Besides, many English noblemen made acquaintance, in Flanders and the Low Countries, with their still flourishing schools of painting, and on their return home not unnaturally introduced the fashion of employing Dutchmen and Flemings in preference to Englishmen. As a result, the list of foreign painters who flourished in some sort in England under Charles II. and his brother is far longer than that of their English colleagues. Abraham Hondius, the animal painter, Simon Varelst, the flower painter, Verrio, the decorator (who, however, was a Neapolitan), Peter Roestraten, Gerard Soest,

MELANCHOLY AND RAVING MADNESS.

(Guildhall Museum. By permission of the Library Committee to the Corporation of the City of London.)

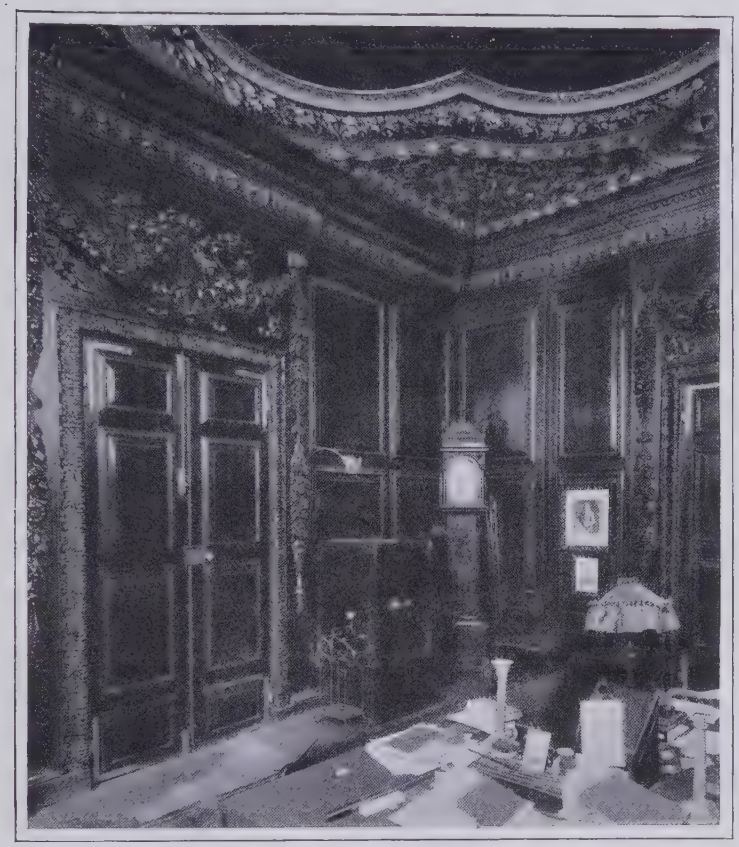
Edema, Gaspard Netscher, the two Vandeveldes, Largillière, and Sybrecht, all made a longer or shorter sojourn in England, and left examples of their skill behind them. It cannot be said, however, that they did anything to influence, much less to develop, the native art of this country.

Cibber and Grinling Gibbons.

Sculpture might be passed over in silence but for the great name of the Holsteiner, Gabriel Cibber, and the greater one of Grinling Gibbons, who, though born in Amsterdam, had an English father. It is uncertain when Cibber arrived in England, but it was probably shortly prior to the Restoration. He is remembered by the two fine statues of Raving and Melancholy Madness, formerly at Bethlehem Hospital. We know little of his training, though he seems to have been in the employment of the younger Stone. These figures make it clear that somewhere and somehow he had mastered the difficulties of his calling, for at any rate his art is mature art, and one sure of its effects. Grinling Gibbons is a much more individual talent, and fortunately much more of his work has come down to us. He at first found employment in carving cornices and such things for builders, and it is likely that he would have never risen beyond this sordid business but for the happy accident of his having been discovered at Deptford by Evelyn. Under date 1671, January 18th, is the following entry in his diary:—

"This day I first acquainted His Majesty with that incomparable young man Gibbons, whom I had lately met with in an obscure place, by mere accident, as I was walking near a poor solitary thatched house in a field in our parish (Deptford), near Say's Court. I found him shut in, but looking in at the window I perceived him carving that huge cartoon of Tintoret, a copy of which I had myselfe brought from Venice, where the original painting remains. I asked if I might enter; he opened the

door civilly to me, and I saw him about such a work as for curiosity of handlinge, drawing, and studious exactness I had never seen before in all my travels. I questioned him why he worked in such an obscure and lonesome place; he told me it was that he might apply himself to his profession without interruption, and wondered not a little how I had

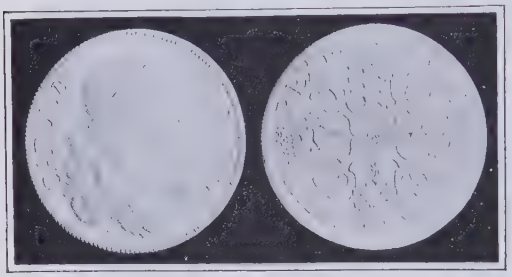


VESTRY OF ST. LAWRENCE JEWRY, WITH CARVING BY GRINLING GIBBONS.

found him out. I asked him if he was unwilling to be made knowne to some greate man, for that I believed it might turn to his profit; he answered that he was but as yet a beginner, but would not be sorry to sell off that piece; on demanding his price, he said £100. In good earnest, the very frame was worth the money, there being in nature nothing so tender and delicate as the flowers and festoons about it, and yet the work was very strong; in the piece were more than 100 figures of men, &c. I found he was likewise musical, and very civil, sober, and discrete in his

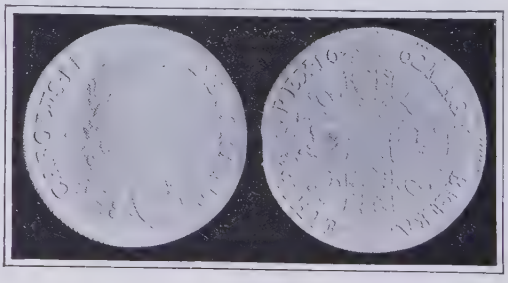
discourse. There was only an old woman in his house. So desiring leave to visit him sometimes, I went my way.

"Of this young artist, and the manner of finding him out, I acquainted the king, and begged that he would give me leave to bring him and his works in Whitehall, for that I would adventure my reputation with his Majesty, that he had never seen anything approach it; and that he would be exceedingly pleased, and employ him. The king said he would himselfe go to see him. This was the first notice he had of Mr. Gibbons."



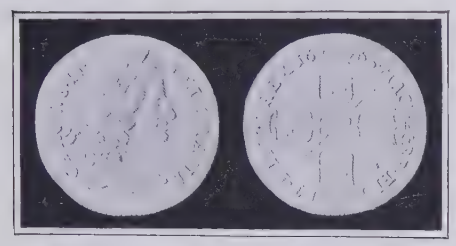
PETITION CROWN. (*Three-quarter scale.*)

The beauty of Gibbons's wood carving, and his really exquisite, though realistic, treatment of flowers and foliage, were appreciated by the king. He gave him an appointment in the Board of Works, and large orders for carving at Windsor and elsewhere. Gibbons continued working in England for half a century. He survived the Stuart dynasty, not dying till 1721. Of his statues, only one or two of doubtful authority remain, but the altar-piece at Trinity College, Oxford, and the tomb of Viscount Camden at Eton, show that he could excel in more than one manner. At Chatsworth, at Burleigh, at Houghton, and elsewhere, there are, or were, superb examples of his carving, though probably his masterpiece is in the Great Room at Petworth, in Sussex. Here the profusion of ornament, fruit, flowers, birds, and all sorts of still-life, festooned from ceiling to wainscot, is positively tropical, and the lavishness of invention is not more remarkable than the



SILVER CROWN. (*Three-quarter scale.*)

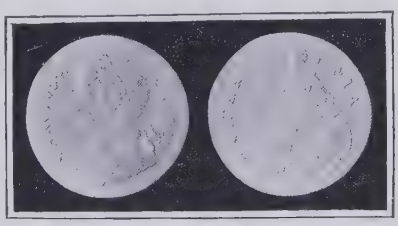
certainty of hand. He had many pupils and assistants, but neither rival nor successor, for his was one of those exceptional talents that, although they command admiration, yet establish no school, and found no tradition.



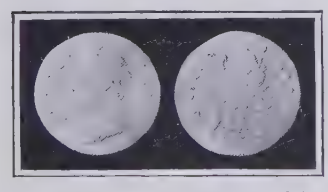
A GUINEA. (*Three-quarter scale.*)

Coins.

The desire to reverse and annul everything, whether admirable or not, that was done in the interregnum may explain the fact that the coins issued by Charles II. in his first two years were hammered, not milled, the types being those of Charles I. In the year 1662, however, the subject of coining by the mill and press was discussed in the Council, with the result that Blondeau was recalled, and Simon and Roetier were ordered to make competitive designs. The latter was a Fleming, whom Charles had probably known in exile, and his design was preferred. Simon seems to have quitted the service of the Mint in disgust, though apparently still employed on odd jobs, and in the year following (1663) he produced his beautiful pattern-piece, known as the Petition Crown. This master-piece is supposed to have been made by the artist in the hope of obtaining his reinstatement as Crown medalist; but, if so, the hope was not fulfilled; at least not entirely, though he engraved a royal seal as late as 1664. The new gold pieces were of the value of one hundred, forty, twenty, and ten shillings, the twenty-shilling piece being popularly called a guinea, from the African company which supplied the gold, its origin being indicated by

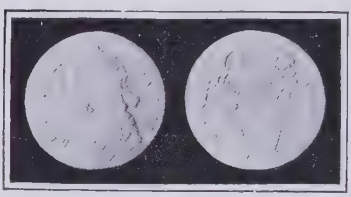


COPPER HALFPENNY OF 1672. (*Three-quarter scale.*)



FARTHING. (*Three-quarter scale.*)

the elephant and castle stamped on the five-guinea pieces beneath the king's bust. Crowns and, a little later, half-crowns were struck in silver, and shillings and sixpences, but smaller denominations ceased to be issued except for Maundy purposes. Usually the king's bust is laureated on the obverse, and the four shields are disposed cross-wise, England at the top and France at the bottom. The great numismatic event of the reign of Charles II. was the issue of a genuine national copper currency. Patterns had been made in 1665, with the king's head on one side, and the inscription *Carolus a Carolo*, and on the other Britannia, with the comically inappropriate boast *quatuor maria vindico* [I claim four seas]. They did not then become current, but seven years later a regular issue of them took place. By that time, however, a sarcastic speech of a noble lord had effected the erasure of the legend. A copper farthing was also issued, and an office for their distribution was set up in Fenchurch Street. Many royal warnings and proclamations against the use of tokens were issued, but, as usual, with scanty results. In the last years of the king tin and pewter farthings were issued, having a piece of copper in the centre, and the words *nummorum famulus* (servant of the coinage, *i.e.* a mere token) round the edge, as a preventive to forgery, a precaution absolutely unavailing.



IRISH HALFPENNY OF 1686. (*Three-quarter scale.*)

Except in name and effigy James II.'s English coins differ in no respect from those of his brother, although his Irish currency of brass and the coins made of old cannon, known as gun-money (p. 850), and his white metal crowns, and groats and pennies, have endeared his memory to the numismatists of the sister isle.

W. S. ROCKSTRO. Music.

DURING the troubles which followed the death of King Charles I. the cultivation of English music was utterly extinguished. Not only was progress impossible: it was equally impossible, in face of the open hostility of the Puritans, to

maintain the high level that had been already attained. The cathedral and collegiate libraries were sacked by the Roundheads, the great organs were destroyed, all singing worthy of the name was prohibited in the desecrated churches, and dramatic music was publicly condemned as a snare of the Evil One.

WESTMINSTER CHOIR MEN.
(*From F. Sandford.*)

But, with the Restoration of King Charles II. a new era began in the history of English art. It was no longer possible to re-unite the thread of development at the point at which it had been severed; for, in every great city on the Continent, a new style had in the meantime sprung into existence, and this new style was already bringing forth abundant fruit on lines which it was impossible either to oppose or to ignore. The only hope, therefore, lay in the frank adoption of the new point of departure as a basis of future operations. King Charles II. had himself cultivated a warm affection for the more modern style, both of vocal and instrumental music, during his residence in France, where the genius of Lulli was then working wonders for the advancement both of sacred and dramatic music; and he openly encouraged the performance of what was then looked upon as music of a very advanced character, both in the Chapel Royal and in his own private band. And thus it was that what is now known as the

CHOIR-MEN OF THE CHAPEL ROYAL.
(*From F. Sandford.*)

School of the Restoration became firmly established in England within a very few years after his return from exile.

Henry Cooke.

The new order of things began with the reorganisation of the choir of the Chapel Royal at Whitehall, under Captain Henry Cooke, a former chorister, who, on the breaking out of the rebellion, had joined the Royalist army, but had not forgotten the art he had formerly practised, and was well fitted for the great work he was now called upon to perform. His first care was to provide a supply of "children" for the choir, and among these he secured three who not only possessed beautiful treble voices, but were also gifted with true musical talent of very high order. These three were Pelham Humfrey, Michael Wise, and John Blow, all of whom rose, later on, to be leaders of the newly formed School.

Pelham Humfrey.

When Pelham Humfrey's voice changed, the king sent him to Paris, in order that his education might be completed under the best masters of the period. He returned to England, in the autumn of 1667, "an absolute Mosieur," as Pepys tells us in his Diary, "full of form and confidence and vanity." But, whether vain or not, his talent was indisputable; and, though then but twenty years old, he was able at once to maintain his position as a leader of English art in its then advancing condition. On the death of Captain Cooke, five years later, the king appointed him "Master of the Children," and nominated him "Composer in ordinary for the Violins to His Majesty," conjointly with Thomas Purcell. Thenceforward his career was a brilliant one; but he did not long enjoy his well-earned honours. He died in 1674, at the age of twenty-seven, leaving behind him a large collection of compositions, both sacred and secular, many of which are still sung in our cathedrals, with an effect in no wise diminished by age, for their sterling worth and characteristic originality enable them to maintain their ground against all later changes of taste or fashion.

Blow, Wise, and others.

John Blow and Michael Wise, if gifted with less brilliant genius than Pelham Humfrey, exercised an influence scarcely less remarkable upon the advancement of art, and achieved a reputation no less lasting than his own. Their successors in the choir—Thomas Tudway, William Turner, Jeremiah Clarke, and William Croft—worthily maintained its excellence. But among these later choristers was one who raised the School to so

STRINGED INSTRUMENTS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

(By permission of the Rev. F. W. Galpin, M.A.)

high a level that no other composer then living was able to compete with him.

Purcell. Henry Purcell, the greatest musical genius that England has ever produced, was born in St. Ann's Lane, Old Pye Street, Westminster, in 1658. His father, Henry Purcell, was a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal; his uncle, Thomas, was Pelham Humfrey's coadjutor in the direction of "His Majesty's Violins." Henry Purcell, senior, died in 1664, but Thomas took charge of the orphan, and educated him as his own son. The child was admitted as a chorister by Captain Cooke when he was six years old, and so precocious was his talent that, five years later, he composed an ode for the "Celebration of His Majesty's Birthday." From that time forward compositions followed in rapid succession. Many of the anthems he wrote, even at this early period, still remain in use; and it is not too much to say that no trace of childish weakness can be detected in any one of them. At the age of seventeen Henry Purcell produced a work which has always been reckoned among his finest compositions —his first opera, *Dido and Æneas*—a veritable masterpiece, remarkable not only for its innate beauty, but still more so from the fact that it clearly marks a new point of departure in the development of English dramatic music. The *libretto* was written by Nahum Tate, not in the then popular form of a drama, with incidental music, but in that of a true opera—a *Dramma per la Musica*—sung throughout in continuous rhythmic melody and recitative. No attempt in this direction had been previously made in England. It was the first grand opera ever written in conjunction with an original English poem. Unhappily, English audiences were not yet prepared for works of this admirable character, and later on Purcell found it necessary to curb his genius in accordance with the spirit of the age, and to adapt his music to dramas in which the dialogue was spoken. But the music he wrote even in this less exalted style was in itself most beautiful; and at the present day we are still charmed with his matchless melodies written for the theatre, no less completely than we are held in thrall by his sublime compositions for the Church. Indeed, it is almost impossible to decide in which branch of art he attained the highest degree of excellence, though it is as a composer of cathedral music that he is now best known and most fully appreciated.

Henry Purcell died in 1695, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. He must rank as the greatest composer of English birth who has ever lived; for his still greater successor Handel, though a naturalised Englishman, was born in Saxony.

THE HON. ROBERT BOYLE, BY FRIEDRICH KERSEBOOM.

(By permission of the Royal Society.)

THOMAS WHITTAKER. Science: Boyle.

One of the chief initiators of the new direction of scientific activity to systematic and minute experimental research was Robert Boyle (1627–1691). His share in the formation of the Royal Society, which at the beginning of this period received its charter, has been already referred to. Boyle's first appearance as an author was in 1660, in which year he published at Oxford a

volume entitled: "New Experiments Physico-Mechanical touching the Spring of Air and its Effects." A devotional work, entitled "Seraphic Love," appeared in the same year. Boyle's experiments established the law of relation between volume and pressure of gases known in England as "Boyle's law." He had the priority over Mariotte, by whose name the law is known on

Photo: University Press, Oxford.

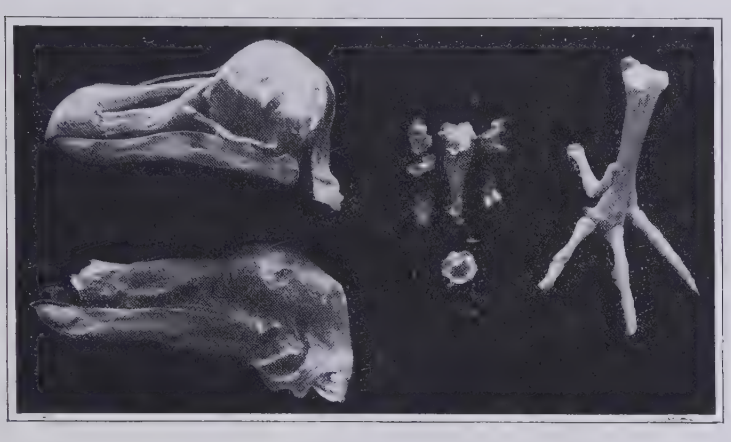
ELIAS ASHMOLE.

(*Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.*)

the Continent. His scientific importance is, however, considered to be rather in persistent devotion to the experimental method—a devotion inspired by Bacon—than in epoch-making discoveries. His investigations in chemistry were of great importance in destroying pseudo-scientific views, and in laying a basis of ascertained facts; but the time of the foundation of chemistry as a science was later.

Robert Hooke (1635–1703), who was associated with Boyle in the construction of his air-pump, was a man of great abundance of scientific ideas and of great inventive power, but somewhat wanting in power of persistent thought. In 1662 he was appointed curator of experiments to the Royal Society, an office which he filled during the rest of his life. His investigation of vibrating strings is especially noteworthy. He made many optical discoveries, and adopted a form of the undulatory theory of light. He approached, though he did not actually attain, the Newtonian doctrine of universal gravitation. From

Hooke.



REMAINS OF THE DODO, FROM TRADESCANT'S COLLECTION.

(The University Museum, Oxford.)

him came the suggestion of using the pendulum as a measure of gravity.

To this period belongs the foundation of the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford. The gift was made by Elias Ashmole, in 1677, of the collection of "rarities" he had inherited from his friend John Tradescant, keeper of the Botanic Garden at Chelsea, and son of John Tradescant, a Dutchman with an interest in natural history. The elder Tradescant had come to England about 1600, and had begun to make the collection continued by his son. To this collection Ashmole made additions, archæological and other, of his own. The whole—filling, it is said, twelve waggons—was removed to Oxford in 1682, when the building that had been provided for it was completed. The

The Tradescants and Ashmole.

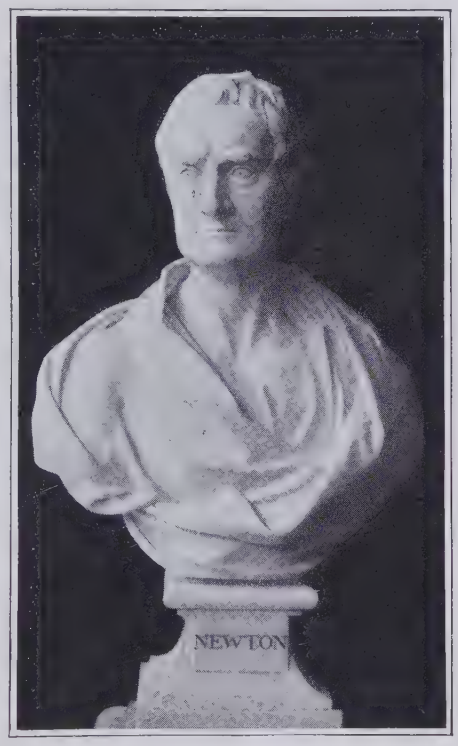
Ashmolean Museum, though at first important especially in relation to natural history, has since become exclusively an archæological museum.

Newton. What makes the period of pre-eminent scientific importance is the publication of Newton's "Principia." Sir Isaac Newton (1642-1727) was born at Woolsthorpe, in Lincolnshire. From an early age he displayed an equal interest in mathematics and in physical experiments. In 1667 he became Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge; in 1669 Lucasian Professor of Mathematics. In 1672 he was elected a fellow of the Royal Society on the proposal of Ward. He more than once sat in Parliament as a representative of the University. In 1705 he was a candidate, but was opposed by the non-residents as being a Whig in politics, and was thrown out. In the same year he was knighted by Queen Anne. He had been appointed to a wardenship of the Mint in 1694, to the mastership in 1697. In 1703 he was elected to succeed Lord Somers as President of the Royal Society, and was annually re-elected during the remainder of his life.

Newton's earliest published discoveries were in optics. In 1672, shortly after his election as a Fellow of the Royal Society, he read a paper on the composition of white light. The light of the sun, he had found, when passed through a prism of refracting substance, becomes broken up into rays of various colours. This is due to their differences of refrangibility. To each degree of refrangibility a particular colour is inseparably joined. In the course of his optical researches Newton also gave a theory of the colours of thin and thick plates and of the inflection of light, and investigated double refraction, polarisation, and binocular vision. The emission theory, which he put forth as a general explanation of optical phenomena, has, however, now been displaced by the undulatory theory.

It is supposed that it was at Woolsthorpe, in 1666, that the theory of universal gravitation flashed upon Newton's mind. The story is that, on seeing an apple fall from a tree, the thought occurred to him that the attraction of the earth, by which the apple was pulled down, may extend as far as the moon. The reason, accordingly, why the moon does not take a direction tangential to its orbit, but perpetually deviates from this, is that the moon, like the apple, is pulled by the earth. Its fall,

compounded with the movement tangential to its orbit, gives its actual path. Voltaire, who had it from Newton's niece, is the authority for this story. Whether the suggestion occurred exactly as related or in some other way, what is essential in Newton's great conception is very well given by it. The moon's motion having been thus conceived, terrestrial gravity now presented itself as, perhaps, simply one case of a cosmical force having everywhere the same formula. The law according to which bodies are attracted to the earth could be conceived as possibly a universal law of all particles of matter. The question was, could a formula be given that would explain at once the descent of terrestrial bodies to the earth, the motions of the moon in its orbit, and the motions of the planets round the sun?



NEWTON. BY ROUBILLAC.
(Trinity College, Cambridge.)

Galileo had founded scientific dynamics; and Kepler, by his laws of the planetary motions, had prepared the way for a complete mechanical explanation such as Newton now conceived. From Kepler's laws Newton calculated the general formula known as the law of inverse square. This, in its complete extension, is that every particle of matter attracts every other with a force directly proportional to the product of the masses and inversely to the square of the distance. The problem now was to apply this law, first to the moon and the earth, and then to

Newton's Law.

the planetary motions, taking the known force of gravity at the earth's surface as the basis of the calculation. Is the deviation of the moon from the tangent of its orbit such as it ought to be if terrestrial gravity, and that alone, is the cause of the deviation? In other words, the velocity of a falling body at the earth's surface being ascertained, is the velocity of the moon's "fall" such as is required by the law of inverse square? At the first attempt Newton found, by calculation from the amount of terrestrial gravity, that the moon ought to be deflected from the tangent fifteen feet in a minute. Actually, it is only deflected thirteen feet. He put aside his calculations for a time, but kept the subject in mind. At length Picard's new estimate of the measure of the earth, communicated to the Royal Society in 1672, having removed the discrepancy, he took up the problem again. In 1684 the question of gravity was discussed between Sir C. Wren, Hooke, and Halley. Newton alone was able to furnish a demonstration that the orbit of a planet (according to Kepler's first law) will be an ellipse on the assumption of the law of inverse square. So far as this part of the theory was concerned, however, all who took part in the discussion had the expectation that the law of inverse square would turn out to be the true formula. Hooke even claimed that he could demonstrate it. Newton now set to work on the "Principia," which was in great part composed during the years 1685–6. It was to have been printed at the expense of the Royal Society, but Halley finally took the risk of publication and saw it through the press. The whole work, entitled "Philosophiæ Naturalis Principia Mathematica," was published about Midsummer, 1687. In the "Principia" the theory of universal gravitation was laid down and mathematically worked out. All the empirical laws relating to the moon and planets that had already been ascertained were now demonstrated as particular cases of a perfectly general law.

The "Principia."

By the English astronomers of the early part of the century there had been some preparation for Newton's great work. Jeremiah Horrocks, for example, who was the first to observe a transit of Venus (1639), had the idea that terrestrial gravity is itself a cosmical force, but combined this notion with erroneous views about the causation of celestial phenomena derived from Kepler. Some of his papers were published posthumously in

1662, the remainder, with extracts from his correspondence, by Wallis in 1672. He, as well as Tycho Brahe, contributed to the account of the moon's motions, and so furnished material for Newton's lunar theory.

Newton's doctrine of gravitation, in spite of the completeness and consistency of its explanation of cosmical motions, at first found objectors even among those who had adopted the "mechanical philosophy." Leibnitz, who held that mechanical

NEWTON'S SCHOOLROOM, THE KING'S SCHOOL, GRANTHAM.

explanations ought to be carried through consistently in physics, contended that Newton's theory brought back old ideas of "occult causes." It did not derive all motion from pressures and impacts, but supposed "action at a distance." The Newtonian doctrine, however, as it was found to explain all the facts, in time expelled theories like that of Descartes, which, though more in agreement with the original form of the modern "mechanical philosophy," broke down in detail. The attempt to get beneath the law of gravitation by explaining it as a result of pressures of a medium or impacts of particles has often been made, even in

our own days, but never yet with success. Newton's law still remains the deepest scientific principle attained in the explanation of cosmical motion.

Fluxions.

The great discovery to which Newton's name is attached in pure mathematics—the infinitesimal calculus, or "fluxions," as it was at first called—is known to have suggested itself as early as 1665. There are papers in his handwriting dated that and the following year, in which the method is described. The germ of the method may be found in ancient geometry; and several modern mathematicians had been working towards it. An important step, as has been mentioned (p. 396), had been taken by Wallis. What was needed was a notation that could make perfectly general the method involved in separate sets of operations applicable to particular kinds of problems. This was discovered by Newton and by Leibnitz. Upon the question whether Leibnitz made his discovery independently of Newton, an acrimonious controversy went on for many years. Leibnitz's method was published in 1684, Newton's not till 1687. On the other hand, Newton's claim to priority in discovery is, and always was, uncontested. It is now generally recognised that Leibnitz made the discovery independently, though later. His notation is admittedly superior, and has since been universally adopted. The introduction of this notation alone, it is allowed by modern mathematicians, would give him rank as an independent discoverer.

Newton's Works on Prophecy.

Newton's works on "The Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms," and on "The Prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse of St. John," may be mentioned here, though they did not see the light till after his death. It is interesting to note that, among earlier mathematicians, Harriot had occupied himself with Old Testament criticism, and was supposed to hold heterodox views, and that the earliest work of Napier was on the Apocalypse.

THOMAS WHITTAKER. Philosophy.

THE imposing system of Hobbes was as powerful in stirring up reaction as it was in its positive influence. In England, indeed, this effect was for two generations predominant. Among the representatives of the reaction are to be numbered the philosophers known as the "Cambridge Platonists." The most

distinguished names in this school are Henry More (1614–1687) and Ralph Cudworth (1617–1688).

The doctrine of both these thinkers is a kind of Christian Platonism, not without original elements, especially in ethics. More's philosophy has a greater admixture of mysticism. Between God and matter he places a series of spiritual forms, by which all bodies, even those which are thought to be merely physical, are penetrated. The higher among these are souls. The "world spirit," which fills all things, is not God, but an instrument of God. Between the "reason" and "impulse" of man there is an intermediate power called the "boniform faculty." Thus the Platonising system of inserting mediating powers between the lower and the higher is carried out in ethics as in metaphysics. **The Cambridge Platonists.**

RALPH CUDWORTH.
(*Christ's College, Cambridge.*)

Cudworth's chief work—"The True Intellectual System of the Universe, wherein all the Reason and Philosophy of Atheism is confuted, and its Impossibility demonstrated" (1678)—was meant to be only the first of three parts. To the same projected work belongs the "Treatise Concerning Eternal and Immutable Morality," published by Bishop Chandler in 1731. Cudworth's metaphysic, like More's, is essentially Platonising. He contends for final causes in physics, and for an explanation of organisms, not by pure mechanism, but by a "plastic nature." Moral principles, in his view, have a validity and a self-evidence equal to that of mathematical axioms. They are innate rational principles, and are not derived from sense, but from the Divinity. **Cudworth.**

Cumberland.

Richard Cumberland (1632–1718), who became Bishop of Peterborough in 1691, opposed Hobbes's account of human nature on psychological grounds, contending that man has primitive social and benevolent impulses over and above the selfish impulses that Hobbes seemed alone to recognise. In his work "De Legibus Naturae Disquisitio Philosophica" (1672) the principle of universal benevolence is made the supreme principle of morals. Unlike More and Cudworth, he has in common with Hobbes the experiential as opposed to the *à priori* point of view. His opposition, therefore, is not to Hobbes's method and general conceptions, but to that which seemed to him a distorted view of the facts. His ethical result has, indeed, been described as "Hobbism made altruistic."

Glanvill.

Joseph Glanvill (1636–1680) is also to be numbered among the opponents of Hobbes. In his "Vanity of Dogmatising" (1661) and "Scepsis Scientifica" (1665) he attacks philosophical dogmatism, especially the Aristotelian and Cartesian forms of it. He argues, in particular, against the certainty of causal relations. Sequence, he points out, does not prove necessary connection. Like others before and since, he used philosophical scepticism in the interests of religious belief. With his scepticism he managed to combine a belief in the reality of sorcery. This did not prevent him from feeling interest in the advances of natural science, shown by championship of the Royal Society against its opposers.

The influence of Descartes now begins to appear in English thought, though no distinct Cartesian school is formed. Among the first to come under the influence were the Cambridge Platonists, to whom the purely metaphysical side of Descartes' thought appealed. At Cambridge, Cartesian text-books of physics were used till after the publication of Newton's "Principia." Locke, though in his "Essay" he opposed what he took to be Descartes' doctrine of "innate ideas," got his critical impulse from him, and communicated it to later English thinkers.

W. H. HUTTON. The Universities.

THE period of the Interregnum saw many changes in Oxford. The University was for a long time under the rule of a Parliamentary Commission, and only those Heads and Fellows retained their offices who would accept the existing *régime* and

TITLE-PAGE TO "SADUCISMUS TRIUMPHATUS," BY JOSEPH GLANVILL, 1681.

The Interregnum.

swear to the Solemn League and Covenant. The first Board of Visitors, appointed on May 1st, 1647, was a Presbyterian body. Its most important member was Dr. Reynolds, Dean of Christ Church and Vice-Chancellor, and it set about the reform of the University after the Presbyterian model. Gradually, as the Independents came to the front in the State, so they came to rule in the University. On June 15th, 1652, a new body of Visitors was appointed by Cromwell and the Parliament. Dr. John Owen, who had replaced Reynolds at Christ Church on his refusal to take the Engagement, was head of the new Board. With him were Dr. Goodwin, President of Magdalen, and Dr. Conant, Rector of Exeter. In 1650 Oliver Cromwell was elected Chancellor, and he ruled the University through his friend Dr. Owen with a firm hand. A third set of Visitors was appointed in January, 1653–4, which continued in power till after the death of the Protector. The intervening years were troublous. At first the officials of the University had to be turned out, and the process was not rendered more gracious through the part played in it by the bitter and violent lawyer William Prynne. Mrs. Fell had to be carried out of the Deanery at Christ Church by force, and set down in the great quadrangle to consider her position. With men the methods were more drastic but less amusing. All who would not submit were ejected. The Directory replaced the book of Common Prayer in the cathedral and the college chapels. A few loyal laymen, such as Dolben, Allestree, and John Fell, kept up the Church services; and some Churchmen, such as the famous Orientalist, Edmund Pococke, Laud's lecturer in Arabic, retained some part at least of their honours in the University. But these were exceptions. Soldiers were employed to remove delinquents five miles from the city. Cromwell and Fairfax overawed the University. The former declared that he intended to encourage learning, and the latter did something to preserve and augment the treasures of the Bodleian Library. But the greater part of these years were spent in attempts to control the Heads and Fellows, to procure constant teaching, to reform and rule the University after very stringent and doctrinaire methods. After nine years of visitation, the University at last ventured to suggest that enough time had elapsed to "purge and correct all humours and malignities," to point out that nearly five hundred

FELL, DOLBEN, AND ALLESTREE.

(By permission of the Dean and Governing Body, Christ Church, Oxford.)

Fellows had been ejected since the end of the war, and to beg for a return to something of the old system. The *genius loci*, in fact, insensibly affected those who had been "intruded." Even new Oxford was soon weary of the petty changes which pedants tried to further; and the University, even before the return of its loyal sons, worked for and welcomed the Restoration as heartily as any other body in England. Clarendon himself admits that Oxford, even in its darkest years,

The Restoration.

> "yielded a harvest of extraordinary good and sound knowledge in all parts of learning; and many who were wickedly introduced applied themselves to the study of good learning and the practice of virtue, and had inclination to that duty and obedience they had been taught; so that when it pleased God to bring King Charles the Second back to his throne, he found that University abounding in excellent learning, and devoted to duty and obedience little inferior to what it was before its desolation."

Antony Wood, as is natural in so rigid a loyalist, writes very sharply of the manners and learning of the period. More credit, perhaps, may be given to his description of the social life at Oxford under the Puritans.

> "They would avoid" (he says) "a tavern and alehouse, but yet send for their commodities to their respective chambers, and tiple and smoake till they were overtaken with the creature. And yet of all men, none more than these were ready to censure the boone Royalist or any person that they saw go in or out of a tavern or alehouse. Some, I confess, did venture, but then if overtaken would in their way home counterfeit a lameness, or that some suddaine paine came upon them. They would also entertain each other in their chambers with edibles, and sometimes (but seldome) at a cook's house that had a back way, and be very merry and frollicsome. Nay, such that had come from Cambridge, and had gotten fellowships, would be more free of entertainment than any, and instead of a cup of college beare and a stir'd machet, which use to be the antient way of entertaining in a college at 3 or 4 in the afternoon, they would entertaine with tarts, custards, cheesecaks, or any other junkets that were in season: and that fashion continued among the generalitie till the Restoration."

Among such folk it was no wonder that there was of "preaching and praying too much; and, if not for necessaries, some would carry on those exercises a whole week together."

Clarendon Chancellor.

With a Restoration came a new commission which restored the ejected Fellows and Heads; and within the year Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, was chosen Chancellor of the University. In this capacity he left, perhaps, the most permanent traces of

his work. He took in hand the restoration of the ancient discipline, and himself was always most keenly interested in the curriculum of the students. He thought that the University should teach the *beau monde* as well as mere scholars; and he sought to revive the Latin and English plays, from which in his youth boys learnt adroitness, familiarity with the classics and an easy and confident carriage. He desired to see, also, an academy of riding and fencing and dancing, such as young men in France resorted to. He was himself a *virtuoso*, a connoisseur of pictures, and "a great lover of books," and from none of his honours did he depart more sadly than from his Chancellorship, when he yielded his office in December, 1667, in a pathetic letter to the Vice-Chancellor.

The Reaction.

Oxford under Charles II. and James II. was scrupulously loyal and orthodox. The "restored"

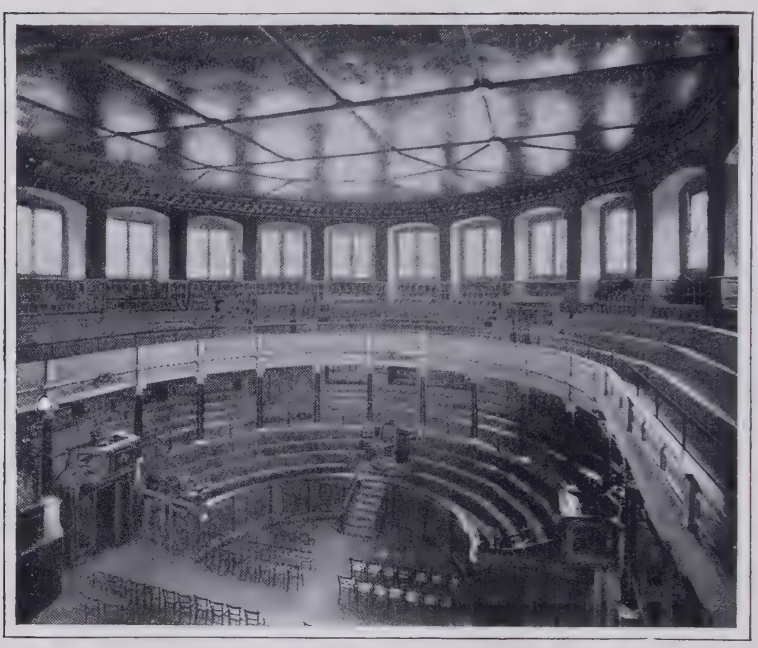
"took care" (says Wood) "to put themselves in the most prelatical garb that could be . . . to restore all signs of monarchy in the University, the Common Prayer, surplice, and certain costumes . . . . to reduce the University to the old way of preaching and praying; to make the interval-way—which was long, tedious, and too practical (not without puling, whining, and ugly faces)—neglected and ridiculous, and especially to be avoided by those young preachers initiated in the Presbyterian and Independent discipline, which they saw inclining much (for hopes of preferment) to the prelatical."

The organs were brought back to the college chapels, and the Church preachers soon began to drive out Presbyterian doctrine. Even dress showed the change, for some would "strip them of their puritanical cut and forthwith put on a cassock reaching down to their heels, tied close with a sanctified surcingle." Anti-monarchical books, such as those of Milton and Goodwin, were taken from the libraries and burnt. When Juxon died he was buried with great pomp in the chapel of St. John's College, after a public lying in state in the Divinity School, and shortly afterward's Laud's body was removed from London to rest, as he willed it, in his own college.

On the whole, the new appointments were good. Clarendon kept Charles from any outrageous breach of decorum. But the Royal nomination which practically forced Sir Thomas Clayton upon the Fellows of Merton and their Visitor led to a stormy period in the history of that college, and to constant appeals to

Sheldon as Chancellor.

the archbishops. Sheldon succeeded Juxon as archbishop, and like him, was an Oxford man. His influence was much felt in the University. He gave, in 1664, £1,000 towards the building of the new University theatre, which still preserves his name; and he succeeded Clarendon as Chancellor in 1667. Year by year Oxford under his rule became more loyal. The day of King Charles's death was observed as a Church holyday. Charles II.



THE SHELDONIAN THEATRE, OXFORD.

several times visited Oxford, and in 1681 Parliament met there during a time of great national disturbance (p. 481). The House of Lords sat in the Geometry School, and the Commons sat in the Convocation House, but only for seven days; for on March 28th Charles, about seven in the morning, sent for his robes and crown privately—"the former they say in a sedan, the other under a cloak"—and straightway dissolved the Parliament. In July, 1683, the University marked its sympathy with the strong Royalist reaction through which the country was passing by publicly condemning to the flames copies of Buchanan,

Hobbes, and other "rebellious and seditious authors"; and in the next year John Locke was expelled from Christ Church.

The accession of James II. was loyally welcomed, and the University itself raised a troop of horse and several companies of foot to meet Monmouth's rebellion. Hardly was the rising suppressed before an organised movement to Romanise the University was seen to be proceeding from the Court. Obadiah Walker, Master of University College, in August, 1686, had mass said publicly in the college; and he became a byword to all Oxford, "Obadiah Ave-Maria." Dr. Samuel Parker, who was now known to be very pliant in the king's hands, was made Bishop of Oxford. The king required the University to elect a Romanist as moral philosophy reader; and he soon publicly lectured against the Reformation. Massey, Dean of Christ Church, opened a Roman Catholic chapel within the walls of the House. Finally, the king strove to force a Romanist on the Fellows of Magdalen as President. The stout resistance that they made—the expulsion of the Fellows, the admission of the Roman Catholics, the short tenure of the presidency by Parker, and the eventual restoration of the lawful President and Fellows—belong to the history of the nation. But we can trace, in the excited letters of the time and in the caustic comments of Antony Wood, the extraordinary turmoil into which the University was cast. Feeling in Oxford was intensely loyal and yet strongly Anglican.

The Catholic Reaction.

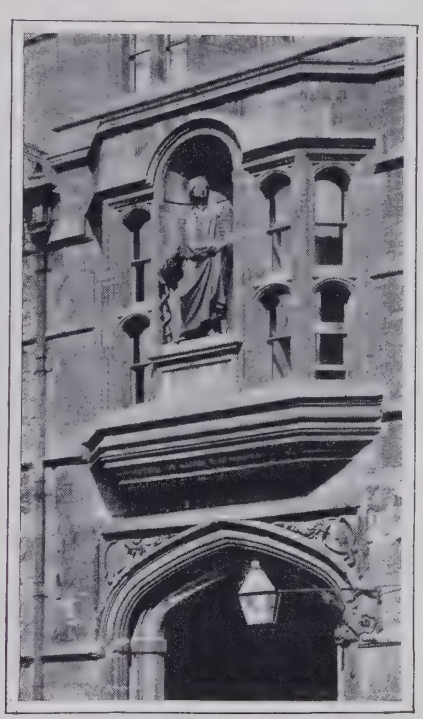


Photo: Gillman & Co., Ltd., Oxford.
STATUE OF JAMES II.
(Given by Obadiah Walker to University College, Oxford.)

Riots constantly broke out in opposition to the aggressive demonstrations of the Romanists, and Bishop Parker found that his clergy, to a man, refused to join him in thanking the king for his Declaration of Indulgence. Oxford was loyal, but it was foremost in resistance to the illegal acts of King James, and it was the Oxford resistance which most strikingly witnessed to the need which England felt for "William the Deliverer."

Oxford Life.

Through all these years University life went on much as it had gone on before the Civil Wars. There are the same complaints of laxity among authorities and students, the same occasional attempts at reformation. Among the seniors a school of practised antiquaries was springing up. Loggan was producing from the University press his magnificent series of views of the Oxford of his day. Antony Wood, the prince of scurrilous yet learned diarists, was writing his famous Histories of the University, and collecting every scrap of archæological lore or of scandal against his contemporaries that was floating about. Undergraduates lived, it would seem, much as they would. Stephen Penton, for instance, who was in residence from 1659 to 1670, speaks as if the progress of the student depended on himself rather than his tutor. "A lecture now and then was a great condescension . . . . but God's grace, the good example of my parents, and a natural love of virtue, secured me so far as to leave Oxford (the troubles coming on) though not made more learned, yet not much worse than I came thither." Yet he confesses that matters were much improved later, and, though he gives much prominence to the sports and amusements of the place, he admits that at a later visit, probably in 1681, he saw no disorder, and that the tutors were very courteous in their entertainment of visitors. Curious side-lights, too, are thrown upon Oxford manners by the account-book of an undergraduate, 1682–86, James Wilding, who was first at St. Mary Hall and then at Merton. He paid 7s. 6d. at matriculation, and immediately afterwards 11s. 6d. for "fresh fees and drink." He gave wine parties, and had to pay for mending his clothes afterwards. But this was not his only recreation. He paid 2d. to see y^e^ Rhinoceros, and the same sum to see y^e^ Turk. He made an expedition to Abingdon which cost 4s., and another to Cambridge for 12s. 6d. He bought a lobster for 2d., and

Undergraduate Life.

for once paid 4d. for a boat on the river. He lost 4d. at cards, and spent 2s. 6d. at y^e^ Musick night. He took a friendly interest in science, for he paid 1s. 3d. to see y^e^ Laboratory, but he also enjoyed an hour at the coffee-house, and gave 3d. to y^e^ Maid at y^e^ Kill Bull. He did his best always to keep well with those in authority; he frequently gave the porter 6d.; and he was not slow in acknowledging the services of the cook and the kitchen-women. Two payments occurred at the end of each term with undeviating regularity—2s. 6d. to his barber and 10s. to his tutor. Among these curious illustrations of the social life of the period, it is interesting to observe that Mr. Wilding's library contained over one hundred volumes—a number which would not be despised nowadays—and all books, moreover, which would imply honest and serious study.

Cambridge.

Much that has been said of Oxford would apply also to Cambridge. The Restoration ran the same course, and the social life of each University was similar. But Cambridge was at first less warm in its welcome to the restored Church. The Puritan College of Emmanuel still refused the surplice, and used the Directory on alternate weeks with the Book of Common Prayer. But Cambridge soon won fame which caused its Puritanism to be forgotten. The era of the Restoration was the age of the Cambridge Platonists (p. 561). Cambridge philosophy taught England, and Henry More, it was said, "ruled all the booksellers in London." Cambridge was no less famous in the natural sciences, and the Royal Society, founded in Oxford, had some of its most distinguished members from the sister University.

Royal influence was felt as strongly at Cambridge as at Oxford, and the University actually sank so low as to elect the Duke of Monmouth its Chancellor. James II. did not confine his schemes to Oxford, and Cambridge presented as bold a front against his intrusions. Sancroft, who had been Master of Emmanuel, was still keenly interested in his old home. A degree was refused to a Benedictine, and the University had to answer for its boldness before Jeffreys. But this was not till the reign was near its close, and the Revolution soon brought back quiet to the authorities of Cambridge.

W. H. HUTTON. The Caroline Divines.

THE period 1661–1688 is in some ways the most important part of the era of the great writers and administrators who are known as the Caroline divines. It is true that in many respects the work of Andrewes, of Laud, of Cosin, of Hammond, was far more lasting and important than that of their successors; but the age of the Restoration gave opportunity for fuller expression to the principles and theories which are to be found in the earlier writers, and the doctors of the English Church under Charles II. and James II. had in some respects a wider view than their predecessors, and, at the same time, unquestionably a more immediate and striking effect on their own generation.

Hammond, when, by his "Practical Catechism" and his "Paræsis," he had served his generation and the next, fell on sleep before the Church was restored. Sanderson, great as a casuist and preacher, lived to direct a great diocese. Jeremy Taylor, of whom we have already spoken, taught the piety and the worship of the next age. Others now arose to carry on the work which they and their forerunners had begun. Chief among them were Edward Stillingfleet, Isaac Barrow, and George Bull. Besides the work of these great men, the activity of Churchmen was shown in philosophy, in the writings of Cumberland, Cudworth, Locke, and the Cambridge Platonists, and in the growth of a school of "Latitude-men," who were later to exercise great influence on the religious history of England.

Under James II. theology was less active. Practical needs of defence occupied the energies of the Church. At the same time the clergy were not absolutely unanimous, and Dr. Samuel Parker, Bishop of Oxford, may be fitly taken as the ablest representative of those whose desire for toleration took the form of an acquiescence in the measures of the Romanist king.

The Latitudinarians.

The "Latitude-men" gave expression to the strivings after comprehension, in which Baxter joined with Churchmen like Dr. Wilkins, Bishop of Chester. The attempt was checked for the time by the decision of the House of Commons to receive no Bill having comprehension for its object, and the Latitudinarians turned to literature. The books of Simon Patrick ("The Friendly Debate"), Edward Stillingfleet ("Irenicum," and "The Unreasonableness of Separation"), and Samuel Parker ("A

COURT OF CLARE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

Discourse of Ecclesiastical Polity") all had important bearing on the questions which were gradually coming forward for solution. Of these the "Irenicum" is the most Latitudinarian, and the "Ecclesiastical Polity" the most sharp against Dissenters. Stillingfleet regards the form of Church government as immaterial, and as left unsettled by the Apostles; Parker is concerned rather to show the obligation flowing from the recognition of the supreme power of the State; but both leave Nonconformity practically indefensible. In both cases, and, indeed, in a great part of the theological writing of the time, it is interesting to trace the wide influence of Hobbes. His statements may be criticised, his arguments ridiculed or confuted by the religious writers, but many of his conclusions have insensibly woven themselves into the very texture of the mind of the Caroline age.

South. Robert South stands hardly in the first rank, but he has never been surpassed, and not often imitated, in his own style as a preacher. He was a stout defender of orthodoxy, and a very hard hitter of his opponents. Men admired him, as they have admired some modern preachers, for the sharp things he said; but they admired him more for his irrepressible and inimitable humour. A sermon of South's is a perpetual succession of jocularities; and the churches in which he preached resounded with the laughter of the congregations. But his ridicule was always directed against pretence, or falseness, or self-assertion, or pride—never against anything high or noble. He was an earnest, self-denying ecclesiastic, and entirely without aims for his own advancement. He remained content with preferment which was considered slight in comparison to his genius, and died a poor man, having spent his income on good works.

Stillingfleet. Edward Stillingfleet was hardly less famous as a preacher. The scandalous Pepys heard him with respect, and says that "the bishops of Canterbury, London, and another believe he is the ablest young man to preach the Gospel since the Apostles"; and Burnet considered him the most learned man of his age. Two of his chief works were written before, or just after, the Restoration—the "Irenicum" and the "Origines Sacrae"; but he continued writing and preaching till his death, some years after the Revolution. His learning and acuteness

amazed his contemporaries. He appeared as the antagonist of Locke and the defender of Laud, as a philosopher, theologian, and preacher, and in all with distinguished success. His "Origines Sacrae," an assertion of the Divine authority of the Scriptures, and his "Origines Britannicae," are still referred to; and it must be admitted that he had no inconsiderable knowledge of antiquity, both literary and historical. But his work was not of a nature permanently to affect posterity. He served his age, and served it well.

ISAAC BARROW.
(*Trinity College, Cambridge.*)

Beveridge and Scott were writers famous in their day, and both received the enthusiastic praise of Addison. But Isaac Barrow was a man of much higher stamp. The extraordinary width of his knowledge and scope of his interests, no less than the solid power of his work, give him a claim to be ranked among the greatest of English writers. Barrow, says a critic who will hardly be accused of exaggeration, displays in his sermons "a strength of mind, a comprehensiveness and fertility which have rarely been equalled." [1] The great Earl of Chatham made his great son study the same works with deep attention, and it was from them probably that he learnt the method of close and exhaustive reasoning to which so much of his success as a speaker was due. Isaac Barrow was more of a cosmopolitan than any theologian of his day. He had lived

Barrow.

[1] Hallam, "Literature of Europe," iii., 295.

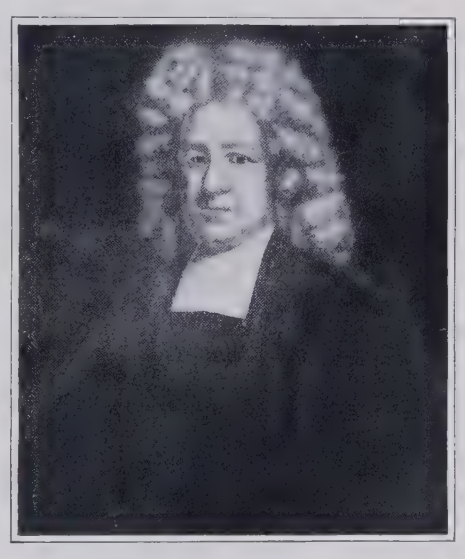
in Italy, at Smyrna, at Constantinople. He was a keen student of contemporary life. "He understood Popery," said Abraham Hill, "both at home and abroad; he had narrowly observed it militant in England, triumphant in Italy, disguised in France." He was a Greek scholar of the first rank: he was hardly less famous as a mathematician. When Charles II. made him Master of Trinity, he said "he had given the post to the best scholar in England." But, great as he was in learning of every kind, he was greatest as a preacher. The extraordinary length of his discourses, at which even his own generation protested, gives them the character of treatises rather than sermons, and it is clear that he was nothing if not complete in his treatment of the subjects he took up. But they cannot be considered dull. The style is strong, nervous, and impressive, and there is a force and directness about the argument which compels attention and sustains interest to the end. It is impossible to read his works without the feeling of being in the presence of a commanding personality. If Cambridge did not undergo struggles as severe as those of Oxford during this period, she served the nation as nobly by the great men whom she trained, and among these no one stands higher than Isaac Barrow.

Bull.

George Bull was another of whom the English Church was justly proud. Long recognised as one of the most learned writers of his day, it was not till his seventy-first year that his merits were rewarded by his appointment to the bishopric of St. David's. A thorough student and a devoted parish priest, he was at the same time one of the humblest of men, and the honours which to others seemed tardy were in his eyes unexpected and excessive. He received the rare honour of a formal letter of thanks from the great Bossuet and the French bishops for his defence of the Catholic creeds. His most famous works are his "Defensio Fidei Nicenæ," his "Harmonia Apostolica," and his sermons, particularly that treating of the Fall. As an historical and theological vindication of the work of the Nicene Council as the necessary and inevitable consequence of the teaching of the Bible and the Church, Bull's defence has never been superseded. It was recognised at once as a great book, and the judgment of England was confirmed by that of foreign nations and posterity. The "Harmonia Apostolica," an explanation of the doctrine of justification, and of the agreement

between St. Paul and St. James in their treatment of faith and works, has been considered to have as great practical value. Scarcely less attention has been bestowed on his discussion of the Fall. It was the fashion to think lightly of his sermons, because they wanted the florid eloquence in which the age delighted; but his friend Robert Nelson defended him very happily by saying that

"he had a way of gaining people's hearts and touching their consciences, which bore some resemblance to the apostolical age; and when it shall appear that those bright preachers, who have been ready to throw contempt upon his lordship's performances, can set forth as large a list of persons whom they have converted by their preaching as I could produce of those who owed the change of their lives, under God, to the Christian instruction of their pious prelate, I shall readily own that they are superior to his lordship in the pulpit, though, considering what learned works he published in the cause of religion, and what an eminent pattern he was of true primitive piety, I am not inclined to think that his lordship will, upon the whole of his character, be easily equalled by anyone."



GEORGE BULL, BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S.
(Exeter College, Oxford.)

But influential as were Bull's personal exertions, no sermons exercised influence so wide as that of the anonymous book, "The Whole Duty of Man, laid down in a plain and familiar way for the use of all, but especially of the meanest reader." It sprang at once on its publication into an extraordinary popularity. It was read by every class, and recommended by every school, and for a century it remained by far the most popular religious work in English. It appears impossible to identify the writer, or to ascribe any other works with certainty

to the same hand (p. 497). It is a sober, practical, thoughtful treatise on practical religion, a marked contrast in tone to the general character of the Restoration period. It had no charm of style; its matter was quiet, devout, and orderly. Its popularity, no doubt, was due to its plainness, and to the sobriety of its Church tone.

With the reign of James II. we pass through a period of transition in the history of the English Church. Of this the one bishop who supported the king may serve as a fit representative.

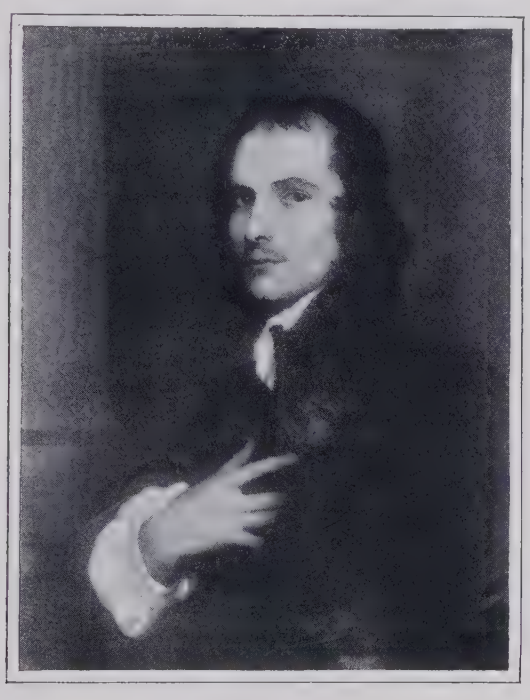
Parker. Samuel Parker was a man rather of ability than of pious character. His contemporaries, disliking his arguments and disgusted with his preferment, were ready to accuse him of the meanest time-serving, and of a complete indifference to the real interests of religion. But it is impossible to deny the clear powerfulness of his mind or the trenchant vigour of his style. Few of the attacks on the Nonconformists, in which this age was prolific, show more bitter and, it must be admitted, effective, satire than the "Discourse of Ecclesiastical Polity." Parker was a philosopher as well as a controversialist, and the criticisms of Plato and Aristotle which his "Tentamina" and "Disputationes de Deo," as well as his "Free and Impartial Censure of the Platonick Philosophie," contain are by no means void of merit. In the region of ecclesiastical history, again, he was no mean proficient. But most of all is he commended to modern thinkers by his little tract containing reasons for the abolition of the Test Act. With a lucidity and clearness and an absence of either cant or terror which is rare among the writers of his time, he points out the absurdity of requiring from members of the legislature a sworn declaration as to a difficult point of controversial theology. Parker's head, it may be, was sounder than his heart, but it is impossible to withhold our admiration from the sanity and foresight of much of his writing. He had certainly, on some points, a wisdom which both High Churchmen and Latitudinarians lacked.

With Parker's death and the changes brought about by the Revolution, the attention of ecclesiastical writers was turned to other subjects, and in the laxity of William III.'s reign, and the political enthusiasm for Church principles which

marked that of Anne, we see little of the dignity or the power which made the Caroline theologians famous in English literature.

GEORGE SAINTSBURY. Literature.

THE exception or limitation which has been noticed in the preceding chapter—the necessity of leaving out purely theological and philosophical contributions to English literature



ANDREW MARVELL.
(*By permission of Fairfax Rhodes, Esq.*)

The Current Tendencies.

during the period—applies with almost increasing force in the present section. For the bent of the English mind during this time drove very strongly in these two directions, and it is difficult, if not impossible, to circumscribe it so as to separate its production in these respects from its production in others. The great names of English literature between the outbreak of the Civil War and the Revolution are intimately connected with these extra-literary subjects. Marvell is a Puritan—an

odd and exceptional kind of Puritan—who has betaken himself to politics: Butler is an adversary of the Puritan who has bided his time, and who delivers himself of his long-accumulated observations and satire. Milton, had he not written in this time, would have been little more than a curiosity for scholars, though scholars would never have made any mistake about him. But the whole of his work now was of the nature of a survival. So also was Sir Thomas Browne's and that part of Walton's which dates from it. On the other hand, the great name of Dryden, which dominates not merely the whole of this section, but at least half of the next, carries with it more than a flavour of philosophy and theology. The purely secular and non-philosophical kinds—fiction, drama, and others—did not take their new forms till comparatively late, and even the drama did not settle itself into something characteristic till Charles II. was dead and his brother was nearly or quite expelled.

Nevertheless, there will still be much to say even if we leave out Hobbes and South and Tillotson—even if we content ourselves with what was said in the last section of the last chapter about Temple and Evelyn and Pepys. Of the "oldsters" we need not say very much more. The production of Sir Thomas Browne, other than posthumous, was finished: Marvell exchanged his exquisite lyrics for a kind of political satire, which those who think that anything written against "tyranny" is good may approve, but which criticism reduced to non-political terms must admit to have been both coarse and dull. Cowley, short-lived as he was, had outgrown his own age, and was to undergo from a characteristic figure of the next, Rochester, the sentence (which may have been, as Dryden discreetly says, "profane," but which has a good deal of truth in it) that "he was not of God, and so he could not stand." Herrick and Vaughan were recluses, of whom nothing is heard and little known. Hobbes is forbidden us, and had written his best. Only Milton remains, and certainly the residue is no mean one.

Milton. If it were possible—which it pretty certainly is not—to reduce the operation of the poetical spirit to strict calculation, the work of Milton during this time would be something so incalculable that any purely scientific calculus would rule it out altogether, and declare that it never existed. It may please

some to think that the procedure of the Shakespeare-Bacon people would be much better in place with the author of "Paradise Lost." What more improbable than that a man of over fifty, who for twenty years had been mainly, if not solely, occupied in theological and political controversy, who had been a paid civil servant, who had taken the side opposed to culture, to romance, to the muses, should write such things as "Paradise Lost" most of all, as "Paradise Regained" hardly less,

BUST OF JOHN MILTON.
(*Christ's College, Cambridge.*)

as "Samson Agonistes" even more than "Paradise Regained"? How much more probable that somebody else—Coventry, the youthful Halifax, Sir Edward Seymour, or (which opens great possibilities) Sir Christopher Milton, the judge and the poet's brother — wrote them? Why not attribute them to his daughters, who are traditionally supposed to have written at his dictation, and who may have executed a noble vengeance on their tyrannical father by substituting for something of his as dry as the too famous treatise which served as text, and nothing more, to Macaulay's Essay, these wonderful and immortal poems?

This, however, is a history, and concerned with facts. Until a Milton Society shall have been formed to teach us better, it will be necessary to assume that John Milton, between the Restoration and his death, wrote, or at any rate published, the three poems already referred to, the first of which has, in the opinion of the majority of judges, whether they be right or wrong, won for Milton the second place in the English literary hierarchy. It is equally unnecessary here to do more than to speak in generalities about "Paradise Lost," the peculiarities of which are so very much those of the other two pieces that we need say nothing special about them. And about this great poem—for that it is a great poem there can be no dispute among the competent—there are certain things which may be separated from the ocean of competing and, in part, conflicting criticism about it as judgments of the "common sense," in the right meaning of that woefully degraded phrase; that is to say, of the joint opinion of persons whose opinion is worth listening to. In the first place, it is hardly disputable that "Paradise Lost" has the vastest and most ambitious scheme of any poem ever conceived. We may for this or that reason put it below the "Iliad" and the "Divina Commedia," but most of us must agree that even the "Divina Commedia," much more the "Iliad," takes a lower place in regard to conception. "The Siege of Troy," taking it at its own poet's valuation, was but a kite-and-crow battle, which has served as the occasion of immortal poetry. The "Commedia," which some may think the greatest *poem* of the three, is in scheme somewhat parochial and personal. But "Paradise Lost"—however much we may read, between the lines, the personalities and even the parochialities without which perhaps poetry cannot exist—escapes on the question of scheme and grasp any such criticism as this. *Ex hypothesi* at any rate, it concerns the whole human race, and more than the whole human race. If we knew nothing of its author, we could only by the most laborious study, combined with the wildest guess-work, fit it to any personality or to any time. It hovers between earth and heaven, touching both.

"Paradise Lost."

To fill such a scheme perfectly was, no doubt, impossible, and many faults have been, not a few may fairly be, found with the execution. There is a vast initial assumption, which

perhaps becomes even vaster when its ramifications are carefully traced and fully understood. The inferiority of Milton to Homer and Dante cannot be better shown than by the notorious fact that no modern has had difficulty in appreciating Homer, though his world of thought is more than half inaccessible to us, and that few English Protestants or Anglicans have any difficulty in understanding Dante, while hardly a single foreigner has really grasped Milton, except M. Scherer, who was partly English by blood, and, so long as he had any religious creed, wholly Protestant. The inferiority of Milton to Shakespeare is similarly shown by the fact that the so-called insularity of our genius has not prevented in Shakespeare's case, as it has prevented in Milton's, this general appreciation. Milton's Position.

Perhaps (there is strong argumentative ground for thinking so) the men who can thus only be understood by their countrymen are in the second, not the first class. But of such men, who stands higher than the author of "Paradise Lost"? If we take him with Racine, the typical Frenchman over whom the French shake their heads and say, "Ah! but you must be French to enjoy him," what third party, what competent and impartial judge, would dream of doing anything but putting Milton highest? In what is, after all, the first requirement of the poet, the capacity of writing his own language poetically, no one is above him in the whole literature of the world but the three just mentioned, while of those whom this and that critic might put level with him — Æschylus, Lucretius, Catullus, Virgil, Spenser, Wordsworth, Shelley, Hugo, Goethe, Heine—there is not one in respect to whom other critics will not start up and cry shame at the parallel. And in one respect Milton stands alone in his management of a great poetic medium. Shakespeare, because of the vast license of the English stage and its mixture of verse and prose, here stands out of the comparison, and we know nothing of Homer's predecessors. But no one—not Sophocles with the iambic trimeter, not even Virgil with the Latin hexameter, hardly even Dante with the Italian hendecasyllabic—has achieved such marvellous variety of harmony independent of meaning as Milton has with the English blank verse. All three perhaps had a better lexicon—it is permissible to think

Milton's choice of words anything but infallible. But no one with his lexicon did such astonishing feats.

Butler's "Hudibras."

There are few odder or sharper contrasts in English literature than the contrasts between Butler and Milton. They were nearly of an age—Butler was but four years Milton's junior, and died but six years after him. They were both men of the older and departing generation when, after the return of the king, Butler produced his only and Milton his chief works. Both had a strong touch of scholasticism in them. Both were English to the core in their limitations as well as in their excellences. But whereas Milton had almost every quality of the heart and mind except humour and amiability, Butler, a man perhaps not less unamiable (he could not have been more), seems to have been a humourist pure and simple. He had lived mainly, if not solely, with the Puritan party, and it does not appear that he had very strong personal grudges to repay them. They certainly did not do less for him—to whom they owed nothing—than did, later, the Royalists, who owed him the most ferocious and victorious literary *revanche* over their enemies that any party ever enjoyed. But the Puritans were more vulnerable to the higher ridicule than any party has been in England until quite recently; and in Butler that Renaissance tendency to irony, which we have noted more than once already, and which reached its highest pitch of more or less good-natured melancholy in Burton and Browne, took more negative and atrabilious form. Like almost all humourists, he was a strong Tory—not, it would seem, from any reasoned conviction, still less from any sentimental tradition—but because the humourist must needs see the humour of it, and anything

HUDIBRAS AND RALPHO IN THE STOCKS (*ed.* 1710).

new is, of necessity, more rawly humoursome than anything old. Later, Butler wreaked his not at all maudlin gall and his mockery of the world on the Royal Society, on the "heroic" plays, on divers things, with a good deal of impartiality. Earlier (till far into middle life indeed, for when the first part of "Hudibras" was published he was fifty-one), he had

SAMUEL BUTLER.
(*Bodleian Picture Gallery, Oxford.*)

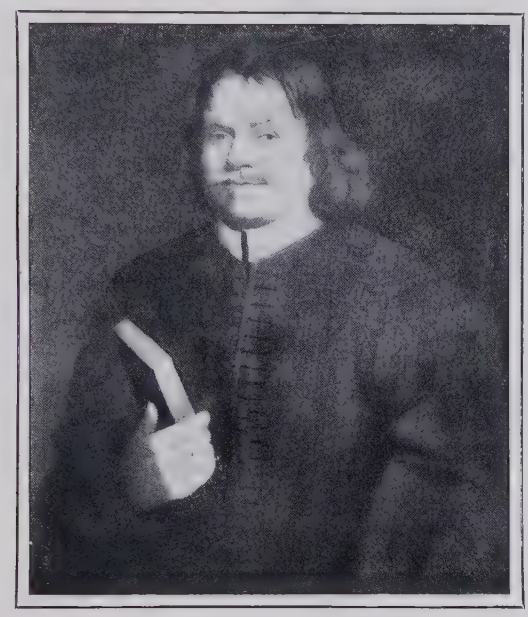
vented the whole of it on his Puritan masters and associates, had kept these victims simmering for years in the concentrated and eternising juices of his acrid ridicule. Of late years the poem has had hard measure—measure, perhaps, more really discreditable to those who do not relish it than to itself. In the first place, the Puritan yoke is an "extinct Satan"; there is no such temptation to acclaim this sovereign satire on it

as there was when the neck of England was still galled. In the second place, it is noticeable that pure, hard, intellectual satire and irony — humanised neither by indignation on the one side nor by mere playfulness on the other—is more apt to lose its hold on all but a select few than any other literary kind. In the third, it may be feared that the ever-decreasing standard of knowledge (which has sunk as the standard of what is called education has risen) has made "Hudibras" more and more hard to be understanded of the people. Not merely is it full of direct allusions which require pages of explanation to the modern man, but the whole stuff and substance of it is shot and warped with threads of the older social culture—threads which are now mere thrums to most people. Yet the book is a very great book. Its wonderful skill of doggerel verse and acrobatic rhyme, the inexhaustible abundance of its fantastic imagery, its learning, its fancy, its pictorial skill—great as they all are—yield, perhaps, to the fashion in which the persons, things, systems ridiculed are made to render themselves ridiculous — to the pitiless mastery with which the puppets work out their own failure and contempt. There are many more lovely books of English literature than "Hudibras"; there are, perhaps, not so many of which it can be said that they are intellectually greater.

Bunyan. The third (or, if we can count Marvell, the fourth) of the great writers of the period in whom the Puritan influence is, in action or reaction, directly perceptible, John Bunyan, is almost as great a contrast to Butler as Butler is to Milton. He had no lack of humour, like Milton, though what he had was somewhat cramped in display by his creed and breeding; he had no lack of kindliness or of spirituality, like Butler. But, differing from each in these several respects, he differed from both in another and almost equally important one—that he was a man of almost no education. Milton in the regular school and university curriculum of the time, Butler in his own leisure and his rather unusual access to great libraries, had built themselves up in almost everything that the time had to give of learning. Bunyan, a man of the lowest rank and of almost the lowest trade, could have attained, and did actually attain, to but little of the learning of the Gentiles. But the English Bible, a few theological

books, the habit of preaching, and his own matchless genius gave him such a style as cannot be paralleled in any other language. Even in German there is nothing quite like it, while in the southern tongues the purely vernacular writer is to seek altogether. There you are literary, or you are nothing. Bunyan is not in the very least degree literary, and yet he is literature.

He had been born in 1628, within the short term of years



JOHN BUNYAN, BY THOMAS SADLER.
(*National Portrait Gallery.*)

which, as we saw, witnessed the birth of all the greater new prose-men. His own prose was neither old nor new—something like it (soon, no doubt, to vanish, through board schools) may be heard among the poor to-day, and something not unlike it may be traced for generations earlier. In the very plain styles there is sometimes a danger of being deceived by an appearance of plainness. We know, for instance, that Cobbett, before beginning to write, made a careful and long-continued study of the manner of Swift; and we know that

His Prose.

the manner of Swift itself was the result of years of reading in many languages. With Bunyan, however, deception is hardly possible. He can have had no models save those named, and save for the Biblical influence, direct or transmitted, his style must be purely his own. Its intense raciness and flavour must, in the same way, be partly due to the comparative limitation of his thought and to its close connection with personal feeling. Those famous "experiences" which "Grace Abounding" has made known left an ineffaceable impression on his own mind, and his almost sole care was to reproduce that impression on the minds of others. The title of his famous masterpiece simply describes what he himself was always thinking of ever after his conversion — in his early, little-known years of quiet during the Commonwealth, during his sojourn in the Bedford prison, in his later freedom, or comparative freedom, of preaching and itinerancy. "The Pilgrim's Progress from this World to the Next" absorbed his thoughts, and when he was not directly describing it in immortal allegory, he was dealing with incidents and episodes thereof—contrasting the Pilgrim with those who refused his pilgrimage, smoothing away difficulties, clearing doubts, administering the counsels of a homely but not unsound theology to troubled minds. The incomparable narrative power which has secured him a lay popularity far wider than any other writer whose thought was solely set on things divine has reached, was by no means limited to the forms of allegorical expression, though Puritan thought had made this natural and almost unavoidable

MR. BADMAN BREAKS HIS LEG.
(*Bunyan, "Life and Death of Mr. Badman," ed.* 1688.)

to him. The little masterpiece of "Mr. Badman" is as straightforward as Thackeray, of whom in parts it strongly reminds us, and who, from internal evidence, had read it. Bunyan's realism is so intense that, as has often been noticed, we never feel the slightest doubt as to the liveliness of his allegorical personages. Even those simple label-names, to which the century was so much given, and which disgust modern readers even in the work of men so great as Jonson at one end of it and Congreve at the other, do not injure them in the least. We know By-ends as well as if his name had been Tompkins; Mr. Worldly Wiseman is as real as if his double-barrelled name were familiar in any directory. In the "Holy War," no doubt, this thorough verisimilitude is not so much felt because the surroundings and machinery, as well as the personages and general aim, are abstract and immaterial. The unconscious fault of art in this — for it would have been just as easy for Bunyan to create interest and verisimilitude by painting the fortune of a single citizen in Mansoul as in Destruction — supplies an interesting and not discouraging warning that nature must be assisted by art if she is not to go wrong sometimes. But of the power of nature here there is no doubt. It has been held by those who do not profess the apparently indolent, but perhaps really wise, creed of literary fatalism—who cannot hold that the way things happen is the way they must have happened — that if Bunyan had

CHRISTIAN KNOCKS AT THE GATE.
(*From a Dutch edition of "The Pilgrim's Progress,"* 1682.)

written a little differently and for a somewhat larger public, he would have founded the English novel half, if not three-quarters, of a century before it was actually founded. It has been thought by others, with good reason, that Defoe, whose religious leanings and Nonconformist associations must have early acquainted him with Bunyan's work, cannot but have learnt something from this marvellous tinker. But all these are guesses. For us and for our object the important things are to observe that Bunyan just after the Restoration — the dates are: "Grace

BEDFORD GAOL AND BRIDGE.
(*From an engraving of about* 1750, *by F. Perry.*)

Abounding," 1666; "The Pilgrim's Progress," 1674 84; "Mr. Badman," 1680; "The Holy War," 1682; but a great deal, if not most, of his work seems to have been written in prison between 1660 and 1672—supplied English literature with two things: the first, a masterly vernacular style; the second, a fashion of making fictitious personages live, and move, and act, and speak in prose, which had never before been exhibited save in poetry, or at least in drama. Perhaps it is not quite superfluous to add a third point—that the attraction of his writing must have had no small influence in establishing

upon the English people that hold of religious writing, not strictly doctrinal or devotional in form, which has been maintained almost, if not quite, to the present day, and in regard to which it stands alone among nations. It is known, and it is interesting to know, that the long delay between the writing and the printing of the book arose from the doubts of Bunyan's pious friends as to the propriety of so mixed a mode. As to the popularity of it, when the book had once appeared, even they can have felt no doubts.

Dryden.

The contrast which has been already noted, which is so characteristic of this time, and which is due in the main to the presence in it of the two streams of subsiding but still vigorous Puritan enthusiasm, and of the rising flood of common sense and semi-rationalist thought, meet us more strikingly than before in passing from Bunyan to Dryden. This great man, the very representative of his period, and perhaps in that period more absolutely superior to all competitors in prose and verse alike than any man before or after him, has been already referred to more than once. He had been born nearly thirty years before the Restoration, had enjoyed the full advantages of the regular English education at Westminister and at Trinity College, Cambridge. He was a member of a good family in the ranks of the squirearchy (though, as was common at that time, some of its branches did not disdain retail trade), and he was himself possessed from his father of a small estate in Northamptonshire, the chief seat at that time of the Drydens, though they are said to have been of Border extraction. As a boy, he had contributed to a collection of funeral poems on the death of the young Lord Hastings, the composition being in the most extravagant style of Cowley or Crashaw, but not without sparks of promise. A kinsman of his on his mother's side had been in favour on the Parliament side, and Dryden, as we have seen, had as a second venture written in a far higher strain than before an episode on the Protector. But he had received no patronage or countenance from the party in power, and there is nothing to show that his own sentiments were at any time anti-Royalist. At any rate, when the Restoration took place he had not the slightest difficulty in declaring himself on the winning side, and it was not till much later—in the excited times of the

Popish Plot, the Exclusion Struggle, and the heats that led to the Revolution—that he was upbraided with apostasy. We know nothing of any compositions of his (save the two already mentioned) before Charles returned. But Pepys, who had known him at Cambridge, speaks of him in a way which seems to imply that he was thought to have poetical leanings, and there are traditions of his having done some hack work—which may not be identical with anything known of his—for Herringman, a popular bookseller. At any rate, from the date of the Restoration itself his star mounted rapidly, and suffered no occultation of fame, though some of fortune during the forty years before it set. "Astræa Redux," his welcome to Charles, though it is sometimes harshly spoken of, is, in fact, a very fine poem, and the "Coronation" of next year (1661) a still finer. In 1663 he married Lady Elizabeth Howard, eldest daughter of the Earl of Berkshire, against whom, though she happened to die in a state of mental alienation, we know nothing positive, the allegations as to the unhappiness of Dryden's married life being, it may be said with absolute security, based on no evidence whatsoever. In 1666 the really great poem of "Annus Mirabilis," on the various victories of that year over the Dutch, together with the Fire of London, appeared, and very shortly afterwards the poet took to regular play-writing, the only form of literature which then yielded a steady income. 1670 saw him installed in the combined offices of Poet Laureate and Historiographer Royal (vacant by the decease at different times of Davenant and Howell), and so, in a way, titular leader both of English prose and English verse. The titular superiority corresponded in a rather unusual degree to the real; but in order to set this forth we must to some extent diverge and digress, looking backwards rather than forwards.

Dryden's Early Verse.

To appreciate the early verse of Dryden (enough has been said of his prose, of which the examples during this period are a few prefaces, while his plays will be dealt with presently), it is all-important to consider what poets were writing, and in what manner. The flame-like lyric of the preceding period, which had shot and waved with such lovely colouring and such fantastic form, had quite died down, or flickered only in the songs of Rochester, Sedley, and Dorset; Herrick and

Vaughan were growing old silently in their Devonshire and Welsh retreats. Milton dwelt altogether alone, and was in no way of the time, though it is not the least of Dryden's glories that he was a fervent admirer of "Paradise Lost." The popular singers of the day (putting aside Marvell, who had taken to politics, and Cowley, who was only less out of the world than

Contemporary Poets.

JOHN DRYDEN.

(*From the Kitcat Collection at Bayfordbury Hall, Herts, by permission of J. Clinton Baker, Esq.*)

these others) were Waller, Denham, and Davenant, men well stricken in years, who had already (in times and manners which lend themselves to a good deal of minute criticism, but which need not occupy us here) anticipated the "school of good sense" in verse. The two former had especially bestowed efforts on the heroic couplet which, after the indications of still earlier poets, such as Sandys, they had tried to isolate, to imbue with the attractions of epigram and antithesis, and to

Waller and Denham.

furnish with a sort of balanced motion corresponding in no small degree to the balance of the prose sentence already referred to.

Davenant.

Davenant, a man of less literary accomplishment than either, was possessed of a more restless and more original mind. The reputed godson of Shakespeare, and undoubtedly a "servant" (that is to say, gentleman attendant) of Lord Brooke, he had in his early days written some verses with the true Elizabethan fire in them, and divers tragedies, exhibiting the singular formlessness which, in the case of all but a very few veterans, came upon the drama in the reign of Charles I. He had also set himself to the composition of "Gondibert," a large epic poem in quatrains which attracted a great deal of admiration. Endowed by nature with the versatility which some—but by no means all—men of letters display, he had under the Protectorate itself succeeded in devising and getting licensed a kind of opera which evaded, or at any rate was exempted from, the general prohibition of stage plays.

Their Influence on Dryden.

With all these three men Dryden must have been acquainted, and with Davenant he was especially intimate. His earliest poems bear the mark of the influence of all. The "Heroic Stanzas" that first announced, and the "Annus Mirabilis," which definitely settled, his poetical position, are both in the quatrain of "Gondibert," while elsewhere the couplets are something like those of Waller. Few competent critics, however, could have been at a loss to find indications that Dryden would go far beyond both his masters, and would still farther excel the sententious though scholarly monotony of Denham. Indeed, the very stiffness, the very harshness, of some of this verse of his first stage, should have been the most encouraging omen. Verse, like wine, announces a weak vintage and an early decay by too much finish in youth. And, besides this negative test (for rough verse, like rough wine, by no means always mellows to perfection), there were certain positive qualities and secrets discoverable in him. Even in "Astræa Redux" and the "Coronation" attempts were visible at the verse paragraph in couplet not entirely dissimilar from that which Milton had not even yet perfected, though he was soon to perfect, in blank. The poet makes cunning pivots and spring-boards

out of identical words, on which, without any disgusting repetition, the verse circles, from whence it leaps, and on which the reader's eye and ear travel easily and pleasantly to the close. The individual line often attempts, and sometimes gains, that magnificent thunder and roll which, to one who has once discerned it, is the very hall-mark of the Drydenian decasyllable. With such facilities he must have made his way at any time—how much more at that time, when the contemporary models we have mentioned were rapidly removed by death (except Waller, who lived longer, but produced nothing), when Milton was out of touch with the audience, and when there was no one else!

Dryden's Dramas.

It has been customary to lament that want of money, desire of popularity, the commands of the great, and other things turned Dryden, for fourteen years after the appearance of "Annus Mirabilis," into the channel of drama, for which (as far as such a thing can be said of a man who could master almost every literary kind) he had certainly no very special aptitude. Intrinsically, no doubt—though there are splendid things in them, and though, as wholes, *Don Sebastian*, *All for Love*, *Aurengzebe* and even the *Conquest of Granada*, are exceedingly fine—the great mass of Dryden's dramas are hardly readable except by students, and are not extremely delightful reading, for the most part, even to them. No doubt one would much rather that he had not written some of them at all. They fall, speaking roughly, into three classes. The comedies are the least characteristic, being on the models of Fletcher and Jonson, changed a little to suit the caprices of fashion by an admixture of French and Spanish farce and intrigue. Dryden has, indeed, inserted in them, on the model of Fletcher rather than Jonson (indeed, he might without much error be called a follower of Fletcher only), some very pleasant and hitherto rather undervalued flirtations between pairs of lovers. From these he has generally, though not always, had the tact to exclude the coarseness which too often disfigures these comedies, and they are really good. But his forte did not lie here.

Comedies.

The tragedies are far more remarkable. He slipped almost at once into, and for many years persevered in, the famous "heroic" tragedy, from which, in 1678, he returned to blank verse, in the splendid though daring variation on *Antony*

and Cleopatra called *All for Love;* while in it he later produced what is generally thought his dramatic masterpiece—the fine play of *Don Sebastian*. But as a blank-verse dramatist Dryden has the drawback of coming into competition with his betters. We admire his work, but we do not love it; we are always thinking of another music, of a higher strain, as we read him. No one has since written in English a tragedy that will bear comparison with *All for Love* and *Don Sebastian*. But when we turn from *Don Sebastian* and *All for Love* to *Hamlet* and *Othello*, the result is reversed.

Tragedies.

In the "heroic" drama, on the other hand, Dryden is king, though the sceptre be too suggestive of pasteboard and the crown patched with, if not wholly composed of, tinsel. All ages have their literary follies, and it is at least probable that some of ours to-day will seem to the twenty-first century just as foolish as this seems to us. But it certainly was a very odd product. In the first place, it was the merest thing of shreds and patches. Nobody has been able to affiliate it, to the satisfaction of any competent critical court, on a single parent. There is something in it of the French classical tragedy and more of the French heroic romance, something of opera, something of the old English horror-tragedy, and some touches even (it is hard to avoid thinking) of the Italian mock-heroic style. One wonders how a very shrewd age could possibly tolerate its extravagance, till one remembers the unfairly forgotten fact that, by the mouths of Butler and Buckingham, the age did show its sense of the actual value of the thing about as shrewdly and sensibly as any one could desire. Put as briefly as possible, its theme was the common romantic stuff of love, ambition, misfortune, and so forth, told dramatically through the medium of rhymed couplets. The most extravagant language and situation were not merely permitted to, but demanded from, the poet; and Almanzor driving armies before him, first on one side and then on the other, in the *Conquest of Granada*, Maximin sitting on his fallen foe, and alternately blaspheming the gods and stabbing the cushion on which he was seated, seem to have satisfied the public as triumphs of intellect, passion, and poetry. Nor, as a matter of fact, is poetry—and that very high poetry of a kind—by any means absent from the stuff, especially in the plays of Dryden and of his

friend and coadjutor, Lee. But even if the lack of verisimilitude in rhymed speeches could ever fail to strike an English ear not deafened by fashion, the stamp of verse best fitted for declamation was so commonplace, the situations which suited it were so fulsome, the impossibility of giving the finer strokes of dramatic emotion in all this hubbub and hurly-burly so fatal, that it could not have lasted long. Dryden, who has given the most robustious example of it in the plays just named, gave the most finished and dramatic years later in *Aurengzebe*, and then dropped it. Nor were any hands less daemonically craftsmanlike than his likely to support what he had let go.

Yet for all this apparent loss of time, waste of power, concession to the *popularis aura*, and so forth, there were compensations. Dryden was not one of those men who are soon worn out, or who are likely to feel, when they come to their true vocation, the expense of their wasted efforts. On the contrary, beginning rather late than early, he did ever better and better work as he went on, finishing with his very best at almost the full threescore and ten—on the very eve of his death. And while he lost no freshness, he gained infinite practice. He had exercised himself, during these fourteen years of play-writing, in every kind of application of the heroic couplet—in blank verse, in lyric (for the songs scattered through his plays are numerous, are often happy, are sometimes exquisite)—and in prose (for he more and more copied the French plan of *examens*, or prose discussions and criticisms of his own pieces). At the end he was a perfect master of every literary weapon and tool of which his time comprehended the use. And then his chance came, and he took it.

Dryden's "Satires."

The occasions of the wonderful series of argumentative poems—which extends from "Absalom and Achitophel" to "The Hind and the Panther," including the masterly reflection of "The Medal," the inimitable personal lampoon (a lampoon *in excelsis*, and raised to the full dignity of poetry) of "Macflecknoe," and the unique religious, or rather rationalist, musing of "Religio Laici"—must be sought in the political sections of this book. It is said that the king had something to do with the suggestion of some of them. He was quite clever enough to have done so; and Dryden was undoubtedly a man who worked better from a suggestion, a model, or a

starting-point of some kind. But, be this as it may, the poetical merit of the whole set is marvellous. Satire, polemics, dissertation are very doubtful subjects for poetry, but they are all made poetical here. The model of the couplet adopted was almost wholly new; the treatment was as different from Butler on the one hand as from Marvell on the other. Whether, as in both parts of "Absalom and Achitophel" and in "The Medal," the strokes fall with sledge-hammer force on the persons and principles of the king's opponents; whether, as in "Mac-flecknoe," they dance round the victim with the flash and flicker of a rapier; whether, as in the two theological poems, the most intricate arguments flow in liquid verse from the poet's lips—the under-sense of command, of mastery, both of subject and medium, is always present. All sense of effort, much more all sense of failing effort, has long since disappeared. The poet does what he pleases with language, with persons, and with facts.

Photo: York & Son.
BUST OF DRYDEN.
(*Westminster Abbey.*)

If this were a history of literature, instead of a social history with glances in the literary direction, it would be unjust to dismiss the real dramatists of the Restoration (for, with one exception, those who have generally borne that name wrote long afterwards) with nothing more than a paragraph of mention. As it is, no more can possibly fall to their lot. The serious contemporaries of Dryden's first dramatic period were very numerous, but few deserve notice here. The most industrious, the least gifted, and perhaps on the whole the most successful was Crowne—"starch Johnny Crowne"—whom it suited the malignity of Rochester, and the bad taste of the time, to run against Dryden himself. The two most gifted were Lee and Otway, men of Bohemian temperaments and erratic lives.

The Real Dramatists of the Restoration.

Both had a fair start (they represented the two Universities, and Otway was a Christ Church, as Lee was a Trinity man), and both had genius; but Otway died starving, Lee mad, and both young. Lee, besides collaborating with Dryden in *Œdipus*, wrote many plays of his own, the chief of which are *Alexander* and *Sophonisba*, exhibiting the extremity of heroic rant, dashed and sublimed sometimes by real poetry. Otway, following Dryden's relapse into blank verse, produced in *The Orphan* a fair, and in *Venice Preserved* a famous, example of what may be called our middle tragedy. Elkanah Settle, a fourth writer of tragedy, has been embalmed for ever by Dryden, whom he had provoked, and who put the last touch to the Olympian unanswerableness of his satire by acknowledging a "blundering kind of melody" in the poor man.

ILLUSTRATION TO "THE PERJURED BEAUTY," BY APHRA BEHN, ed. 1735.

All these wrote comedies, as some of those about to be mentioned wrote tragedies; but the comic power of the time, which was very considerable, lay elsewhere. Wilson, a survival of the stage before the flood of the Rebellion, produced soon after the Restoration one or two pieces in which the Jonsonian style was refreshed by a distinct talent and some modern touches. Shadwell, another Jonsonian, who, like Settle, had the misfortune—or, rather, the misbehaviour—to come within the range of Dryden's immortalising satire, displayed in the humour-comedy an undoubted power of observation and no small ability. *Epsom Wells*, *Bury Fair*, *The Virtuoso*, *The Sullen Lovers*, are very far indeed from rubbish. Aphra Behn, one

Aphra Behn.

of the legendary figures of English literature, of whom everybody has heard, and of whom few, save students, know much, wrote, besides prose tales of a merit not contemptible, and in a style rather anticipating the narrative episodes of the great Queen Anne essayists, many plays—bustling, lively, and not much more indecent than their fellows, though a couplet of Pope's has labelled them as being so. All these, however, are far behind Etherege and Wycherley in the true *vis comica*. Both of these were men of some family and some fortune, Etherege escaping altogether, though Wycherley did not, the perpetual want of pence which, for some reason, though drama has never been the worst paid of literary kinds, seems to vex the dramatist more than any other public man. Wycherley, in *The Country Wife* and *The Plain Dealer;* Etherege, in *Sir Fopling Flutter* and *Love in a Tub*, introduced the sparkling dialogue and the shameless flaunting attitude of mere Hedonism, which have given a colour to Restoration comedy. Dates of production, and probably truth, assign the priority to Etherege; tradition, based on his own uncertain assertion, to Wycherley. The characteristics of the curious and not altogether respectable style which must be fathered on one or the other will be more fully noticed in the next chapter.

R. E. PROTHERO. Agriculture.

During the first four decades of the seventeenth century the prospects of agricultural improvement had steadily brightened. Numerous writers were studying the art and practice of farming. New materials for agricultural wealth were within reach; turnips were already grown in English gardens, and were recommended for field cultivation; the use of clover had been recognised and urged upon farmers. The increase of enclosures offered an opportunity for the introduction of new crops and new methods. Schemes were on foot to reclaim the fens; practical advice had been given for the clearing of forest land and the cultivation of wastes. Drainage had been discussed with a sense and sagacity which were not to be rivalled till the present century. Increased attention was paid to manuring; the merits of Peruvian guano were explained by G. de la Vega, at Lisbon, in 1602; liming and marling, practices which had died out since the fourteenth

century, were revived. An Act of Parliament was passed "agaynst plowynge by the taile," and "the barbarous custom of pulling off the wool yearly from living sheep" was declared illegal. Attention was paid to the improvement of agricultural implements. Patents were taken out for draining machines (Burrell, 1628); for new manures (1633, 1636, 1640); for improved courses of husbandry (Chiver, 1637); for ploughs (Hamilton, 1623; Brouncker, 1627; Perham, 1634); for implements for mechanical sowing (Ramsey, 1634, and Platt, 1639). On all sides new energies seemed to be infused into English farming. Progress, 1600–1640.

The promise of improvement was destroyed by the outbreak of the Civil War. Excepting those who were immediately engaged in the struggle, men seemed to follow their ordinary business and their accustomed pursuits. The story that a crowd of country gentlemen followed their hounds across Marston Moor when the two armies were drawn up in hostile array may not be true, but it is typical of the times. It was the want of incentive to improvement and the prevailing sense of insecurity, rather than the actual absorption of the population in the war, that caused the promise of agricultural improvement to perish in the bud. The period was one of extreme distress. Hartlib states that but for foreign supplies the people would have starved. The poor farmers, says Blith in 1651, "lived worse than in Bridewell." The area under corn cultivation diminished, and, though early statistics are generally untrustworthy, it is worthy of notice that Hartlib estimated that in 1648 not more than four million acres in England and Wales were under tillage. Inclement seasons added to the general distress. In 1648 and 1649 the summers were extremely wet, and, as Aubrey says, "deare years of corne." Wheat rose rapidly, till in 1648 it stood at 85s. the quarter, and, while the average price from 1647 to 1700 was only 49s. 10d., the average taken from 1647 to 1651 was 77s. 7d. Beef and mutton also rose $3\frac{3}{4}$d. per pound. At the same time the purchasing power of wages advanced little or nothing upon the 3d. a day of 1444. Effect of the Civil Wars.

In more settled times the prospects of farmers again brightened. Cromwell was an enlightened supporter of agriculture. The introduction of turnips into the field cultivation of

Recovery under Cromwell.

Huntingdonshire was in the eighteenth century still attributed to him. To him Blith dedicated his work on drainage, "The English Improver Improved." To his patronage Samuel Hartlib, whose "Legacie" is one of the most curious of early books on farming, owed the means of collecting his information. This latter work, though often attributed to the pen of Hartlib, is really only edited by him. It is in effect an answer given by several persons to the question, "What are the actual defects and omissions, as also the possible improvements, in English agriculture?" Some of the recommendations are sufficiently ridiculous. Here, for example, is his remedy for flukes in sheep: "Take serpents or (which is best) vipers; cut their heads and tayles off, and dry the rest to powder; mingle this powder with salt, and give a few grains of it so mingled to sheep." But for his advocacy of manures, of turnips, and of clover he is entitled to the gratitude of farmers. His list of manures includes twenty-one natural substances; but it need scarcely be said that for none of them is he indebted to chemistry, and that no attempt is made to restore to the soil the special properties in which it is impoverished by particular crops. He urges the adoption of roots, and the folding of sheep "after the Flaunders manner," as a means of enriching and consolidating sandy commons. But, though the foot of the sheep thus employed "turns sand into gold," the recommendation passed almost unheeded. He also advocates the use of clover and "Holy Hay, or Saintfoine," and informs his readers where they can be procured; "such as are desirous to buy any of the three-leaved grass, or lucern, spurry, clover-grass, and sinke-foile, what quantity they please, may have them at Thomas Brown's shop at the Red Lion in Soper Lane."

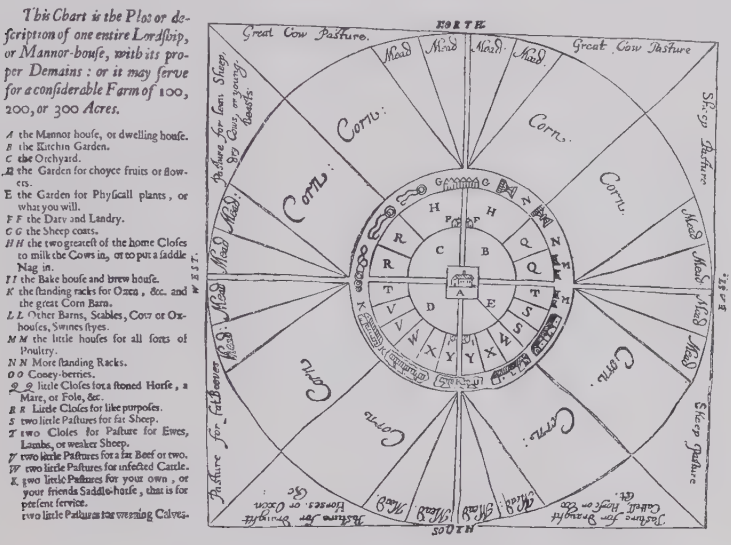
Stagnation under Charles II.

But practical progress was once more suspended by the political uncertainties and social changes of the last half of the seventeenth century. Agriculture languished, if it did not actually decline. It is a significant fact that between 1640 and 1670 not more than six patents were taken out for agricultural improvements. Country gentlemen ceased to interest themselves in farming pursuits. "Our gentry," notes Pepys, "are grown ignorant in everything of good husbandry." Without their initiative, progress was almost impossible. The farmers of the day had not the security of tenure, the

enterprise, capital, education, or intelligence to conduct or adopt experiments. It was a proverbial saying in Berkshire:—

"He that havoes may sit;
He that improves must flit."

The same experience was embodied in the popular saying prevalent in the Lowlands of Scotland. Donaldson, in his "Husbandry Anatomised" (1697)—the first Scottish treatise on agriculture—says, "If a tenant improves his land, the


This Chart is the Plot or description of one entire Lordship, or Mannor-house, with its proper Demains: or it may serve for a considerable Farm of 100, 200, or 300 Acres.
A the Mannor house, or dwelling house.
B the Kitchin Garden.
C the Orchyard.
D the Garden for choyce fruits or flowers.
E the Garden for Physicall plants, or what you will.
F F the Dary and Landry.
G G the Sheep coats.
H H the two greatest of the home Closes to milk the Cows in, or to put a saddle Nag in.
I I the Bake house and brew house.
K the standing racks for Oates, &c. and the great Corn Barn.
L L Other Barns, Stables, Cow or Oxhouses, Swines styes.
M M the little houses for all sorts of Poultry.
N N More standing Racks.
O O Coney-berries.
P P little Closes for a stoned Horse, a Mare, or Fole, &c.
R R Little Closes for like purposes.
S two little Pastures for fat Sheep.
T two Closes for Pasture for Ewes, Lambs, or weaker Sheep.
V two little Pastures for a fat Beef or two.
W two little Pastures for infected Cattle.
X two little Pastures for your own, or your friends Saddle-horse, that is for present service.
Y two little Pastures for weaning Calves.
NORTH
SOUTH
Great Cow Pasture.
Great Cow Pasture
Sheep Pasture
Sheep Pasture
Corne
Mead

PLAN FOR LAYING OUT A FARM.
(*Hartlib*, "*Discourse for Setting out of land*," 1653.)

Landlord obligith him either to augment his Rent, or remove, insomuch that its become a Proverb (and I think none more true), *Bouch and Sit, Improve and Flit.*" It was not till the eighteenth century, when great landlords began to take the lead in agricultural improvements, that any substantial and general advance was seen.

Causes of Stagnation.

Here and there changes were made for the better. But such progress was purely local, and rarely survived the individuals by whom it was effected. Traditional practices were jealously guarded as agricultural heirlooms. Even ocular proof of the superiority of new systems failed to drive the John Trot geniuses of farming from the beaten track in

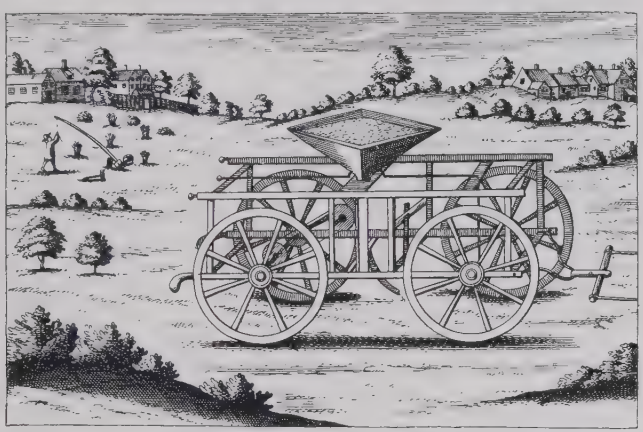
which their ancestors had plodded. Circumstances combined to render the force of custom tyrannical. On the open-field farms, where the rotation of crops and fallows were determined by the common rights of the whole village, no individual could move hand or foot to effect improvements. Unless a large body of ignorant, prejudiced, suspicious co-proprietors agreed to adopt turnips or clover, it was impossible to introduce them into cultivation. The enterprise of twenty farmers might be checked by the apathy or caution of one. Even if the new materials for agricultural wealth were successfully adopted by some enterprising tenant or landlord on an enclosed farm, it was unlikely that the experiment would be known beyond the immediate neighbourhood. Each village was self-sufficing. The inhabitants raised enough food for themselves, and were not concerned in the affairs of the next parish. Communication was difficult; even frequented roads were often impassable, except for a well-mounted horseman or a coach drawn by twelve horses. In this extreme isolation must be sought a fruitful cause for the slow diffusion of agricultural improvements. Another cause lay in the absence of any incentive to raise more from the soil than was requisite for the personal wants of the producer. There were but few markets. From no vast and crowded haunts of labour and trade rose the cry of artisans for bread and meat. As soon as the farmer had satisfied the needs of himself and his family, his object was achieved. Till the demand had been created by the rapid growth of population which resulted from the development of manufacturing industries, the supply was regulated by the domestic wants of the producer himself.

Writers on Agriculture.

Another cause for the neglect of the improvements which were being forced on the notice of farmers lay in the character of agricultural writers. In practice not a few had failed. Like ancient alchemists, they starved in the midst of their golden dreams. Tusser, teaching thrift, never throve. He spread his bread, says Fuller, with all sorts of butter, but none was ever found to stick thereon. Gabriel Plattes, the corn-setter, died in the streets for want of bread. Donaldson only became a book farmer when he had failed in practice. Arthur Young failed twice in farm-management before he

began his invaluable tours. Many of the early writers, in fact, earned for themselves reputations akin to those of the vendors of quack medicines. A contempt which was not wholly unjustifiable was partly the cause of the slow adoption of agricultural improvements. It was long before clover emerged "from the fields of gentlemen into common use." In 1686 clover and sainfoin are mentioned by Plot among the unusual grasses cultivated in Oxfordshire. "Farmers," says Tull, writing in the reign of George II., "if advised to sow clover, would certainly reply, 'Gentlemen might sow it if they pleased, but they (the farmers) must take care to pay their

Clover.



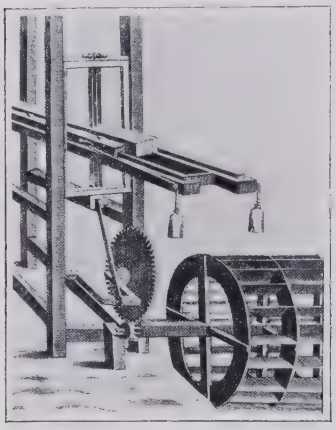
EARLY AGRICULTURAL MACHINERY, AFTER DESIGNS BY PLATTES.
(*Worlidge, "Systema Agriculturae,"* 1669.)

rent.'" Equally obstinate was the resistance to turnips. Blith (1652) derides their use, and says that they are only eaten by swine after they are boiled. His opinion was shared by his brother farmers. It was of little use that Worlidge ("Systema Agriculturae," 1669) urged on farmers the cultivation of turnips; or that Gabriel Reeve, in his "Directions" (1670), noted for the benefit of his sons the best means of improving "barren and heathy land"; or that Houghton ("The Improvement of Husbandry and Trade," 1681) described the benefits which he had himself witnessed in Essex from turnips as a winter food for sheep. Equally fruitless were the efforts of Tull. "I introduced turnips into the field," he says, "in King

Turnips.

Worlidge.

William's reign; but the practice did not travel beyond the hedge of my estate till after the peace of Utrecht." Potatoes were also recommended, within this same period, for field cultivation, but without success. John Forster, in his "England's Happiness Increased" (1664), urges the planting of the root, and Houghton (1681) supported him with the weight of his authority. But it may be safely said that clover and turnips did not become general in England till the latter half of the eighteenth century, and that potatoes owed their almost universal introduction to the efforts of the Board of Agriculture during the Napoleonic wars.



SAWMILL.
(*Evelyn, "Sylva,"* 1679.)

One of the most interesting figures among the agricultural writers of the day is that of Thomas Tryon. It was characteristic of his class that he was a "Jack of all trades." He was a voluminous writer on an immense variety of subjects—against drinking brandy and "smoaking tobacco," upon brewing ale and beer, upon medical topics, dreams and visions, on the benefit of clean beds, on the generation of bugs, on the pain in the teeth. He also composed a "short discourse" of a Pythagorean and a mystic. His agricultural book, "The Countreyman's Companion" (1618), is chiefly remarkable for its account of that "Monsterous, Mortifying Distemper, the Rot," and for the remedies which he suggests for the preservation of sheep from the disorder. Thomas Tryon is an admirable representative of the class of agricultural writers who brought the book farmer into disrepute. But already true science was coming to the aid of the farmer. The "Terra" and "Sylva" of John Evelyn are known to every well-read agriculturist, and John Ray's "Catalogus Plantarum" marks an epoch in the history of botanical science.

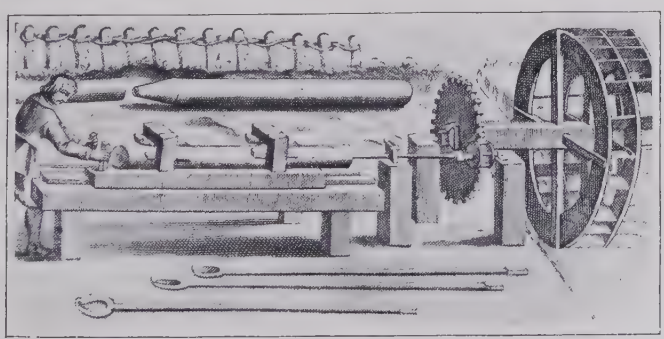
Though no general progress in agricultural skill can be recorded in the years 1642–88, the period was one of pre-

paration. Not only were such pivots of improvement in farming as turnips and clover made known to farmers, but in two respects positive advance was made. In the reign of Charles II. the burden of feudal tenures was removed, and the disappearance of the wolf and the wild boar shows that, in spite of the revival of the forest rights of the Crown, wild uncultivated wastes were diminishing in area. It is, however, a conclusive sign that farming is not prosperous when the attention of the legislature is called to the industry. Petitions were presented against the denudation of country districts by the migration of the peasantry to the centres of commerce and trade. The petitions were not without effect. At the commencement of the reign an attempt was made to raise a revenue by permitting the import and export of corn subject to higher duties. This attempt was soon abandoned for the more familiar form of corn law, which endeavours to encourage tillage by raising prices to an artificial height. In 1688 bounties were offered for the export of corn, and between the years 1697 and 1767 upwards of six million pounds were paid in the form of bounty. For nearly a century England was made by the Corn Laws a corn-exporting country.

Signs of Advance.

Sir William Davenant, in his work on Trade, which was published in 1688, gives some curious statistics on the condition of English farming at the close of the reign of James II. Many of the early statisticians wrote merely from guess work. Davenant is an honourable exception, and, without

Statistics of Farming.



BORING AND SHAPING MILL.
(*Evelyn*, "*Sylva*," 1679.)

accepting the absolute accuracy of his figures, we may treat them as the result of the careful investigations of a competent observer. He estimates the total acreage of England and Wales at thirty-nine million acres, and the total area under cultivation, whether as arable land, pasture, or meadow, at twenty-one million acres. He calculates the arable land at nine million acres, and the permanent pasture and meadow at twelve million acres. The rent of the former averaged 5s. 6d. per acre, and the latter 8s. 6d. per acre. In this relative extent and value of arable land and pasture is summed up a century of agricultural revolution. Even at the present day, after a long reaction in favour of permanent pasture, arable and pasture land in this country are almost equally divided. It must, moreover, be borne in mind that Davenant's arable land means land which was tilled for corn, beans, and vetches, and that no other green crops were generally known to the farmer. Davenant goes on to calculate the live stock which the land carried. There were, he estimated, four and a half million cattle, twelve million sheep, and two million pigs. He also calculates—and the result, if it is accepted, will be somewhat surprising to those who deplore the modern extinction of the animal—that there were 24,000 hares and leverets. Finally, Davenant divides the population into various classes. From his tables it appears that there were 40,000 "Freeholders of the better sort," whose yearly incomes averaged £91; 120,000 "Freeholders of the lesser sort" (£55 a year); 150,000 farmers (£42 10s.); 364,000 labouring people and out-servants (£15); 400,000 cottagers and paupers (£6 10s.). The effect of the calculation is that, adding the larger landowners, nearly five-sixths of the total population of the country were, in 1688, dependent either directly or indirectly on the land.

G. TOWNSEND WARNER. Manufacture and Mining.

During the Civil War a series of experiments were being carried out which were to have more effect on the future of England than was imagined by men of the time. The iron trade was in difficulties for fuel; two loads of wood went to a load of charcoal, and two loads of charcoal were required to make a ton of iron. Hence there was fear that the needs

of the smelters would lead to the disforesting of England. Parliament had interfered with the wholesale destruction of wood; consequently the iron trade was not so prosperous as it might have been. In James I.'s reign Dud Dudley began to try to use pit-coal for smelting. He set up a furnace at Pensnet, and at the second attempt made three tons of iron. But the inventor's career was chequered. He obtained a patent, and among other things turned out the iron of which a fowling-piece was made. But his works were "ruinated," as he tells us, by floods, and when monopolies were abolished

The Iron Trade.

CHARCOAL BURNING.
(*Evelyn*, "*Sylva*," 1679.)

men tried to infringe his patent. He set up a larger furnace, twenty-seven feet square, at Hascobridge, and made seven tons of iron a week. From here he was again ejected, his "new bellows by riotous persons cut to pieces," and several actions brought against him which resulted in his being imprisoned for debt. When he got out he took in some new partners, and they swindled him. The Commonwealth put a new complexion on affairs, for Dudley was a Royalist, and Cromwell gave the patent to Buck and other Parliamentarians. They set up furnaces in the Forest of Dean, employed Dudley to build them, but failed to extract his secret. Buck abandoned the attempt in 1656, and Copley tried his hand. He failed

too, and in 1660 Dudley began petitioning for a renewal of his patent. Dudley's attempt was not very prosperous, but he succeeded on a small scale. He made three sorts of iron—grey iron, which he sold at £4 per ton, motley iron, and white iron. Bar iron he could sell at £12 per ton, whereas the price by the other process ranged from £15 to £18. He dwells on the advantages possessed by Staffordshire, where coal and iron lay close together, and enumerates the iron ores of the district as known at the time, the ironstone first measure, the black row graines, the dun row graines, the white row graines, the rider stone, the cloud stone, and the Cannock stone. He also knew, or says he knew, how to correct the brittleness of his iron "by fining or setting the finery less transhaw more borrow, which are terms of art," and how to get rid of sulphur, arsenic, bitumen, and antimony. Dudley's art, such as it was, seems to have perished with him, for little progress was made in coal smelting till well on in the eighteenth century.

Irish Iron. During this period the Irish iron foundries enjoyed some prosperity, although the rebellion was fatal to many. There were iron mines in Ulster, Tallow, Desartland, Fermanagh, Tyrone, Queen's County, and Roscommon. At Coote's works, at Mountrath, two ores—rock mine and white mine—were used in the proportion of one ton to two, and from this one ton of iron could be made. The bar-iron was sent down the Nore to Ross and Waterford, and thence exported to London, where it fetched £16 and £17 per ton. Coote was supposed to make a profit of £6 per ton. He employed 2,500 men in his three works—a large number were needed to cut and gather the wood and prepare the charcoal for fuel. The machinery in use was very simple; one great difficulty was with the blast. Double bellows were usually employed. The water blast was not much used; it had the disadvantage of pumping very damp air. In 1681 Yarranton introduced from Bohemia the manufacture of tin-plates, and in 1686 Chetwynd of Rugeley made rollers for gardens as big as 8 cwt. These were hollow, filled up with wood, but very brittle. Saltpans a ton in weight were cast at Birmingham. In Charles II.'s reign Roberts says there were eight hundred furnaces at work, but the statement was far in

BIRMINGHAM IN 1656, FROM AN ENGRAVING BY W. HOLLAR.

(*From Dugdale, "Worcestershire."*)

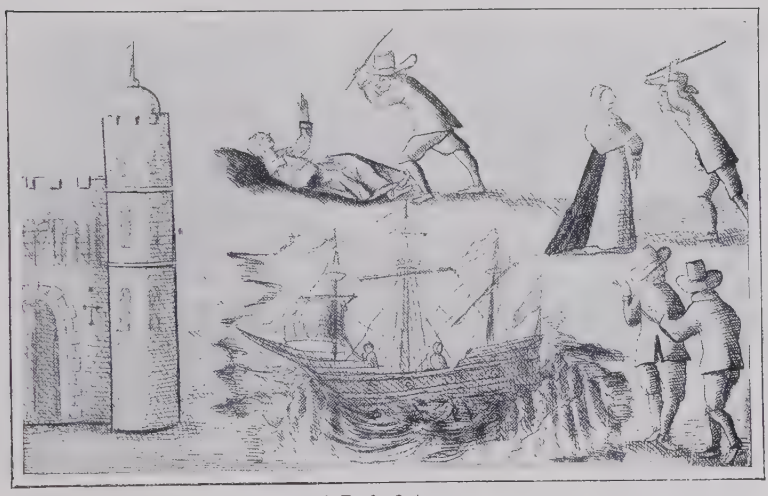
excess of the truth; they were widely distributed over the country, the greater number being in Sussex.

Coal. Such coal as reached London came almost entirely from Newcastle, as land carriage was so expensive. There was complaint that the price was enhanced by the Newcastle Corporation, which forbade coal-owners dealing directly with the shipmasters, and made all colliers come up to Newcastle to load. Ralph Gardiner, who attacked the Corporation for these restrictions, says that the coalowners had to sell their coal to the magistrates of Newcastle, they to the masters

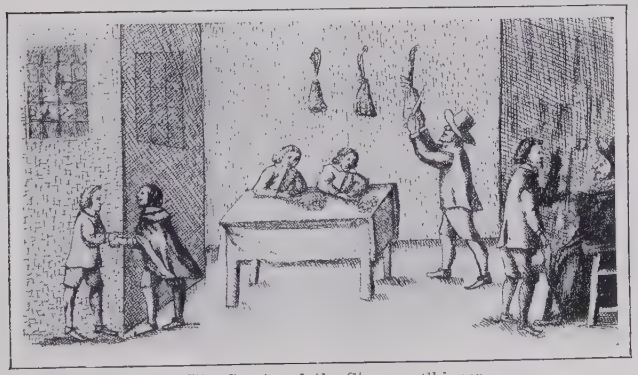
THE EXCHANGE AND GUILDHALL, NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE.

The Drawbacks of Newcastle. of ships, they to the woodmongers or wharfingers, and they to the consumer—a roundabout practice "as bad as a Welsh pedigree." The river Tyne was dangerous to navigate, and many vessels were lost in coming to Newcastle, when they might load conveniently at Shields; there was, further, a want of places to discharge ballast. Some owners, not being able to sell their coal, allowed their pits to be fired. He further accused the Corporation of unnecessary violence in the exercise of their privileges, having seized one Cliff, a ship's carpenter of Shields, who, not being a freeman of Newcastle, had presumed to get a ship off rocks in the river, "killed his wife, brake his daughter's arm, and attacked him in the Exchequer." The Corporation used to cast persons

Seizure of Goods for Breach of Market Rules.



A Trade Outrage.



The City Court and the Stranger Skipper.

ALLEGED MALPRACTICES AT NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE.

(*Ralph Gardiner, "England's Grievance Discovered in Relation to the Coal Trade,"* 1655.)

into their "common, stinking gaol," and were in the habit of disobeying "two or three habeas corpusses." To all of which the Corporation's answer was that such privileges as they exercised were legal, and that Gardiner had himself recently "broke the goale," and was a liar.

Difficulties in London.

If there were obstacles in the way of cheap coal at Newcastle, there were also difficulties in London. A coal merchant named Povey boasts of having bought and unloaded eighty-eight chaldron of coal in a day. This was in advance of what any other merchant could do. He was able to do it by means of an engine of his own invention—a floating pier, or bridge with "boxes on coach wheels" to carry the coal, which enabled him to unload close to shore at all states of the tide, instead of keeping vessels waiting at Billingsgate two or three days. He saved by this means nearly two shillings the chaldron in lighterage and porterage, and sold coal cheaper than other merchants. He says they conspired to accuse him of giving short weight. He was tried, "and, instead of acquitting me, the jury brought me in guilty of the indictment, and I was fined thirteen shillings and fourpence. The Bench declared they had done me great wrong."

A SCOLD.
(*Gardiner, op. cit.*)

The Staffordshire Coal Mines.

Dudley, in his account of the Staffordshire coal mines, says that within ten miles of Dudley Castle there were twelve or fourteen coal works, and twice as many not at work. Each got 2,000 tons a year, some more. In some cases the miners dug off the upper earth. Mines of this kind were called footrids, but in his day few of these were left. Most of the pits were from eight to twenty yards deep, and some forty. The three upper measures known were the white coal, then shoulder coal, toe coal, foot coal, yard coal, slipper coal, sawyer coal, and fristy coal. He estimates that at least 5,000 tons of slack were wasted annually, the miners sweeping it into heaps in the mines to stand on, while outside it was cast away as useless. It often took fire, and was a great nuisance. As

Dudley points out, it was all suitable for smelting iron. The total amount of coal raised in England in 1660 has been estimated at over 2,000,000 tons. Some copper and a good deal of tin was got in Cornwall, and copper and lead in Devon. Roberts describes Wales as well stored with mines of silver-lead ore, coal, and some tin, and Cumberland as possessing "mines of brass" and veins of silver and black-lead, but these were little worked.

The Woollen Trade.

The woollen trade was not making any notable advance. Contemporary writers are generally agreed that the trade was stationary. They were much exercised about the running, or illegal export, of wool; legislation was directed against the practice, but without effect. There was a considerable demand for English wool in Holland. The Dutch had also the advantage of Spanish wool after 1648, and the English weavers thought they could not compete successfully with them, especially in fine cloths. With a view to the woollen trade, an Act was passed (18 & 19 Car. II. c. 4) for burying in woollen. Even this did not do all that was expected, people "persisting in adorning their deceased friend's corpse with fine linen, lace, etc., though so contrary to our true national interest." In 1668 Brewer brought into England fifty Walloons, who taught an improved system of dyeing, whereby 40 per cent. could be saved. This seems the only important event in the history of the trade during the Restoration. The linen weavers were, as usual, sufferers by the jealousy of the woollen men, but the trade was growing. In 1669, 23,680 lb. of linen yarn were imported from Scotland. In 1686 a Scotch Act was passed for burying in that country in Scots linen. Men looked still more askance at the calico industry. Most of the calicoes, chintzes, and muslins were imported from India. It was felt unfair that such imported materials should take work from British looms. But calico-printing was introduced into England in 1676 by Flemish emigrants. In 1684 Charles II. granted a patent for dyeing linen, silk, and cotton cloth divers colours by old-size and other cements, but very little work was done. The greater part of the cotton imported was used for candle-wicks. Frame-work knitting of stockings was a considerable industry in London; some 1,000 frames were at work. In 1640 there were, however, only two masters' houses in Nottingham, and the first

frame was not set up in Leicester till 1670. Hose was made of worsted and silk. Worsted hose was made of three, four, and five-thread yarn, and silk stockings in fancy colours. Workmen in good work got three shillings a week; fancy workmen four shillings, working usually four days a week.

The Silk Trade.

The silk trade was the only one to make a considerable advance, and this was largely due to the immigration of religious refugees. In 1681 Charles II. granted letters of naturalisation, with leave to bring furniture, merchandise, tools, and implements. In that year alone 1,154 immigrants arrived. In 1685 James II. issued a similar edict. Refugees flocked in from Normandy, Picardy, Touraine, the Angoumois, and Lyons. Between 1670 and 1690 no fewer than 80,000 persons came to England. There was some jealousy in England, but, on the whole, the refugees were well received. The anti-Catholic feeling in the country inclined men to the side of the persecuted. In a tract on the immigrants, published in 1677, taking the form of a dialogue between *Content* and *Complaint*, *Complaint* says: "At this rate all the world would be invited hither"; and *Content* replies, "Amen, say I." About one-third of the refugees settled in and around London, in the districts of Spitalfields, Soho, Seven Dials, and Long Acre. Others went to Canterbury, Sandwich, Glastonbury, Norwich, Southampton, Winchelsea, Dover, Bristol, Plymouth, Exeter, and Edinburgh, and some even got so far as Ireland, where they were promised facilities in the linen manufacture. Wherever the refugees went, they followed up their old callings, and as many of these were new to England a great development of industry was the consequence.

The story of many of these new industries finds a more appropriate place in the next chapter. The stimulus to the silk trade, however, was immediate and widespread. During the early part of the seventeenth century the English silk trade was a small affair. France was the real home of the business; French weavers and French goods were ahead of anything else the West could produce. A large number of these skilful weavers came to England, and began to turn out alamodes, lustrings, brocades, satins, black and coloured mantuas, paduasoys, ducapes, watered tabbies, and black velvets; the manufacturers of lustrings were incorporated as

the Royal Lustring Company. The designs of brocades and figured silks were much improved by French Huguenots—Lauson, Mariscot, and Monceaux. A French working man brought also the secret of imparting a lustre to silk tapestries. High wages were offered to skilled workmen from Lyons. Under this impulse the trade increased enormously. In 1689 Child speaks of 40,000 families living by silk. In 1694 there were 1,000 looms at Blackfriars in Canterbury. A tract, called "The Case of the Silk Weavers," which is undated, but certainly belongs to the early years of the eighteenth century, speaks of the trade having increased twenty times since 1664. It embraced all kinds of black and coloured silks, gold and silver stuffs and ribbons, as good as those made in France. The black silk used for hoods and scarves was worth £300,000 a year. It was calculated that 100 lb. of silk would keep 930 persons in work for a week in broad and narrow weaving, stocking-frame knitting, and silver spinning. But the trade complained that the fashions were likely to come from France, so that home manufacturers could not make provision for a spring trade for fear of being thrown out by French novelties. "France has the first of the market, and England the fag end." Most of the silk used came from Italy; it was thought best to get silk from Italy, and not from the East, because for silk from the former payment would be made partly in woollen goods, while the East would have none of them, and demanded money. Old abuses still went on, particularly in the dyeing, and a right of search was given to commissioners. They could seize heavy dyed silks, *i.e.* those dyed on the gum. There was also some complaint that the weavers were often too poor to buy sufficient supplies of silk. The men of Spitalfields more than once thought themselves badly treated, and were "extremely riotous and tumultuous" against Indian silks.

Salt.

The history of the salt industry during this period offers an interesting illustration both of the way trades were used to bring a revenue to the Government and of the feelings of rival trades for one another. Under Charles I. the country was not self-sufficing, for in 1627 the French War caused the price to rise from 50s. the weigh to £12 and more. A good deal of salt was imported from Spain. In 1630 the export of salt was forbidden, but was allowed again in 1732, when salt

became more plentiful. At this time the chief centre of the English manufacture was at Shields, where salt was made by boiling down sea-water. The manufacture fell into the hands of monopolists, who enhanced the price, and Shields or "Newcastle" salt was sold in London from 1635 to 1638 at £4 15s. the weigh; the impost they levied was 48s. 6d. the weigh, and this caused salt to be sold at £5 10s., though the manufacturers of Bristol and Southampton were excepted from the tax. The exclusive patent expired in 1638. The saltpans fell into the hands of the original owners, but they found the high prices had much injured the trade. The output had diminished from 16,000 weigh annually to 8,000. With the outbreak of the war new troubles began. The salters were troubled by the Dean and Chapter of Durham, on whose land their works were built; and then, when they had satisfied the ecclesiastics, the action of the Commonwealth, who sold all lands belonging to Bishops, Deans, and Chapters, brought fresh difficulties on them. In 1648 Arthur Haslerig was allowed to take from them an excise of 4s. the weigh. They complained bitterly of the competition of Scotch salt, which was favoured by the excise, and petitioned that it should be reckoned as foreign salt. Oliver Cromwell ruined the trade by the union between England and Scotland, and put many saltworkers out of employment. The Restoration brought hopes of better days, but then the dispossessed Dean and Chapter came back again with demands for fines and arrears of rent. The industry was much crippled by these disasters, and the increasing activity of Cheshire and Worcestershire further depressed it. This did not prevent the saltworkers from maligning their rivals, declaring that French bay salt—that is, salt left by natural evaporation of sea-water—was "one-seventh dirt and nastiness, putrefied human bodies, dead-fish, and carcasses," while the "rock salt of Cheshire has so many bad qualities that most certainly Nature could never have intended it to be used."

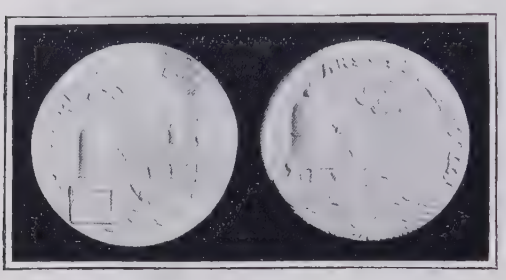
The Brine Springs.

During the tribulations of the men of Shields the industry at the "wiches," or brine springs, increased fast. In 1682 there were in Cheshire three chief centres—Northwich, Middlewich, and Nantwich. Northwich had six pits, and made 12,214 bushels of salt per week, using 4,800 loads of coal, with working expenses reckoned at £97 15s. At Middlewich were seven pits,

ANCIENT IMPLEMENTS FOR THE MANUFACTURE OF SALT.

(*Northwich Museum.*)

and in a week 4,300 bushels were made. At Nantwich, where the brine was weaker, there were three pits. The weekly output was 4,200 bushels, but much more coal was necessary. In Worcestershire the manufacture was carried on around Droitwich. There was a great pit at Upwich, thirty feet deep, where 450 bushels of salt were made each day. The brine here was so strong that lead pans had to be used instead of the usual iron ones. At all of those "wiches" the process used was substantially the same—long boiling in pans of various sizes, and various things, such as blood, white of egg, wine, ale, and ox-tallow put in to clarify. The main thing was to ensure the salt granulating properly, and to prevent it from re-dissolving. The Worcestershire salt kept best, while the Shields salt was the worst in this respect. This brine salt was free from the bittern which remained in the bay salt and made it unpleasant, but some people imagined that the bittern was an advantage in salting meat and fish.



MEDAL COMMEMORATING MORLAND'S PUMPING ENGINE.

Rock Salt.

All the existing trade united against the new rival—rock salt. In 1670 "a person was searching with an Auger for Coles" on the land of Mr. William Marbury, not far from Northwich, and lighted on a rock of salt which the instrument brought up as "hard as Allom, and Brine flew up more fierce than if it had been squirted out of a London Water Engin." When a shaft was sunk, the deposit was found to be twenty-five yards thick. No sooner was the manufacture of salt from rock-salt begun than the brine-men did all they could to hinder it. They protested that the discovery was unnatural, the salt was worthless, that the brine would be exhausted, the revenue cheated and impoverished, and themselves ruined. They prayed Parliament to impose heavy taxes on rock-salt, because of the natural advantages enjoyed by their rivals. Coal was dear

in Worcestershire, and cheap in Cheshire. It was easier to mine salt than to pump brine, and rock-salt could be carried about the country, manufactured anywhere, and so could cheat the excise. On the other hand, the rock-salt men said that the brine did not come from the rock-salt, but the rock-salt was deposited from the brine, that mining was more expensive than pumping, that the salt was good, and that the revenue would benefit as much from their industry as the other. In all, there was a good deal of reckless assertion, in which each party pretended to be looking at the good of the country, and really had its eye on its own pocket—a state of things which clearly illustrates what manufacturers hoped to get from State regulation of trade.

J. E. SYMES. Economic Practice and Theory.

In the early years of the Restoration period there was a considerable increase in English trade, with only one year of important depression. As the amount of each customs duty was fixed by Parliament at the beginning of Charles II.'s reign, the gross sum brought in by these import and export duties is a fair measure of the year's trade. We find that in the year ending September, 1661, the customs duties amounted to £361,356. For the next four years they averaged £507,774. The Plague, the Fire, and the Dutch War reduced them, for the next year, to £303,766. Then they rise, in successive years, to £408,324 and £626,998. After this there were fresh fluctuations, and the average for the four years 1685–1688 was £577,000.

Navigation Act of 1660.

Meanwhile, the carrying trade was passing more and more into the hands of English merchants. A new Navigation Act extended the principles adopted in 1651 (p. 378), and required "English" ships to be built, as well as owned and manned, by Englishmen. It also forbade aliens to be merchants or factors in English plantations, but it relaxed the restrictions on importation from Dutch fisheries. The consequences of the Act were somewhat similar to those of 1651. Ship-building was, however, stimulated, and our mercantile marine was doubled in thirty years. The result was probably worth the temporary inconvenience that it caused.

The financial system adopted at the Restoration was, to

Finance of the Restoration.

some extent, borrowed from Puritan legislation. Parliament began by deciding that the royal revenues should amount to £1,200,000 per annum, and then proceeded to consider how this sum should be raised. The old custom duties, including tunnage on imported wines, and poundage on other goods, whether imported or exported, were granted to the king for life. The excise was divided into two parts. (1) The Hereditary Excise was voted to the Crown in lieu of various feudal dues, some of which had been long disused, while others had fallen into abeyance during the Commonwealth. A Parliament of landowners naturally objected to any revival of these; and they threw upon the whole community a burden that should have been borne by the land-owning classes alone. This excise was to be a permanent source of royal revenues. (2) The Temporary Excise, on the other hand, was simply voted to Charles II. for life, like the tunnage and poundage. This excise was levied on coffee, chocolate, sherbet, and tea, as well as on beer and other strong drinks.

New Taxes.

The customs and excise duties, together with the revenue from the royal demesne, which now amounted to only £100,000 per annum, fell far short of the £1,200,000 that had to be provided. The deficit was partly met by a house tax, proportioned to the number of stoves in each house, and accordingly known as "hearth money." Other taxes were voted from time to time. Thus, in 1668, fresh duties were imposed on French wines. In 1670 both the customs and excise duties on strong drinks were extended, and taxes were imposed upon proceedings in the law courts. There were also several poll taxes, subsidies, and assessments granted in the early part of Charles II.'s reign; but towards its close the fixed revenue considerably exceeded the £1,200,000 Parliament had intended to provide, and the king also drew a secret income from Louis XIV. This fact helps to explain his being able to dispense with Parliaments during the years 1682 to 1685.

Introduction of Banking.

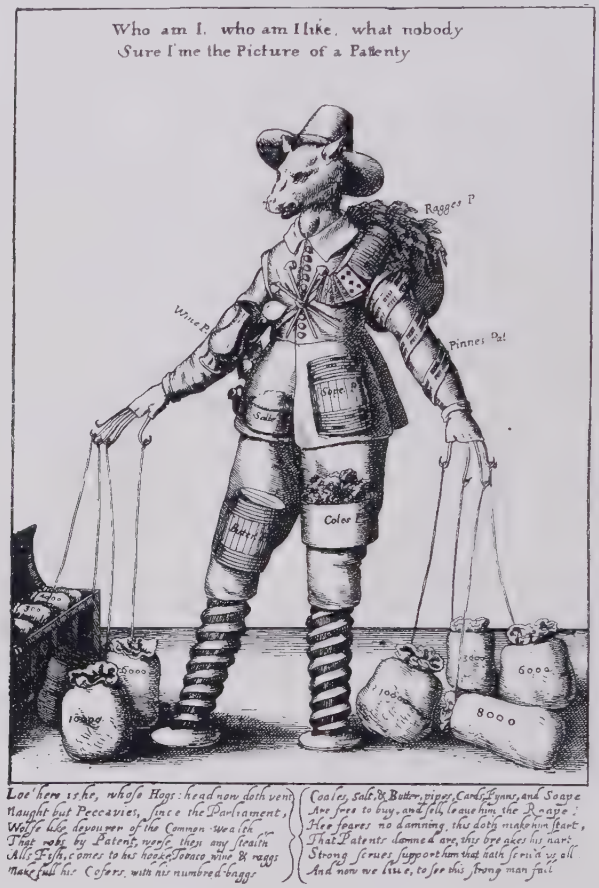
The growing complexity of English commerce, and the steady increase of loanable capital, led to the introduction of the banking system into England. In Italy there had been deposit banks since the fifteenth century, but as the banks did not lend out deposited money they naturally made a charge, and never gave interest. The seventeenth century saw the

establishment of banks in Amsterdam, Hamburg, Rotterdam, and Sweden; but in England there was no public bank till after the Revolution. Until the reign of Charles I. English merchants deposited any surplus bullion or money in the Mint, at the Tower; but in 1640 the king, being in great need of money, seized the £120,000 that had been so deposited. This money was repaid, but the merchants had taken alarm, and thought it wiser to keep their own money. This practice, however, involved serious risks and difficulties, and so the habit grew up of confiding it to the goldsmiths, whose business compelled them to take special precautions against thefts and embezzlements. The next step was to lend out such deposits at interest. The Protector took to applying to the chief goldsmiths, who had now begun to be known as bankers, to advance him money till the taxes came in. Charles II. followed this example. As soon as Parliament had voted supplies, he would send for the "bankers" and ask them for advances. For these loans he generally paid eight per cent., but as the goldsmiths had to pay their clients six per cent. their profits were not excessive. In the year 1672 the amount so advanced to the king was £1,328,526. This sum represented deposits from 10,000 different persons. The fact that the bankers were able to lend so much proves that loanable capital was rapidly accumulating. Suddenly the Exchequer was closed, and the goldsmiths were told that they would have to be satisfied with interest. But no interest was forthcoming till 1677. From that time, however, until 1683 the creditors received six per cent. A period of financial confusion followed, but the amount was ultimately included in the National Debt, which, indeed, may be said to have arisen from the fraudulent action of the Government in 1672.

Economic Theory.

Turning now from economic history to the history of economics, we find the number of pamphlets on economic subjects steadily increases as the seventeenth century advances. Most of these were, however, written for some specific purpose —to defend or attack a monopoly or privilege, or to advocate some particular legislation. The writers were mostly either busy men, engaged in mercantile pursuits and anxious to promote their own interests, or else politicians whose aim was to increase the royal revenues. They did not trouble to

define the terms they used, and in most cases they have evidently not been at the pains to think out for themselves the principles underlying the growth of national or individual wealth. Like their predecessors, they attach an undue im-


Who am I. who am I like. what nobody
Sure I'me the Picture of a Patenty
Raggs P
Wine P
Pinnes P
Sider P
Salt
Color
6000
8000
Loe here is he, whose Hogs-head now doth vent
Naught but Peecavies, since the Parliament,
Wolfe like devourer of the Common-wealth
That robs by Patent, worse then any stealth
Alls Fish, comes to his house Tobacco, wine & raggs
Make full his Cofers, with his numbred baggs
Coales, Salt, & Butter, viper, Card, Lynne, and Soape
Are fore to buy, and fell leave him the Rogue;
Hee feares no damning, this doth make him start,
That Patents damned are, this ore takes his part,
Strong Serues support him that hath seru'd us all
And now we liue, to see this strong man fall

SATIRE ON PATENTEES.
(*By W. Hollar.*)

portance to money, often forgetting that it is a means, and not an end; but, nevertheless, they now place the encouragement of shipping almost, if not quite, on a level with the accumulating of gold and silver. In this they seem to show an instinctive realisation of the part which our Navy, our

colonies, and our shipping were to take in building up the greatness of England. It is especially from this point of view that the pamphleteers dwell so much on the importance of the fisheries, and their suggestions on the subject show considerable variety. Some would give bounties to our fishermen. Others want to build ships like those employed by the Dutch. Others would revert to the policy of encouraging Lenten observances. Others, again, advocated the direct prohibition of importation from the Dutch fisheries, and this policy was adopted in the

AMBASSADORS FROM BANTAM, 1682.

(Sutherland Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford.)

Navigation Act of 1651. By this and other means the Dutch were almost completely ousted from the herring and the Newfoundland cod fisheries.

Thomas Mun, 1571–1641.

Another group of seventeenth-century pamphleteers attack or defend the privileges of the East India Company. Of this group, the most important was Sir Thomas Mun, the son of a London mercer. He was early engaged in the trade with Italy and the Levant, and he afterwards became a director of the East India Company. His very considerable experience of the practical working of commerce gives an interest and importance to his writings which their obvious bias and mistaken

theoretical basis does not altogether destroy. He was a pronounced advocate of the "Mercantile" theory—the belief that the advantage of a foreign trade is practically measured by the favourable "balance of trade," and the consequent inflow of gold and silver. In his "Discourse of Trade" (1621), however, he argued that the East India Company re-exported many of their imports at a profit, and that thus what in the first instance drew money from England ultimately brought in a larger treasure. Moreover, the greater cheapness of the sea route diminished the amount of gold that would otherwise

THE EAST INDIA HOUSE IN 1648.

be paid for Indian goods brought overland. In his "England's Treasure" (printed in 1664, but probably written in 1632) he carried further the argument in favour of allowing the exportation of the precious metals.

Sir Josiah Child, 1630 1699.

Soon after Mun's death the East India Company found a still more powerful defender in Sir Josiah Child, who had the chief control of the company's affairs in England during most of the reigns of Charles II. and James II. Child perceived that silver and gold were only commodities, although used to measure the value of other commodities. He realised clearly the commercial advantages of free trade, but defended the monopoly of the company on the ground that it was conducive to national power, though not to national wealth. This is

only one instance of Josiah Child's insight. Unlike most capitalists, he boldly maintained that high wages were a proof of national prosperity. His "New Discourse of Trade," published originally in 1665, was gradually expanded, till it came to include the following subjects, among others: Trading Companies, Navigation Acts, Our Woollen Manufactures, the Balance of Trade, Colonies, Methods of giving Employment to

SIR JOSIAH CHILD.
(*Hope Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford.*)

the Poor, and a System of Arbitration among Merchants. On these subjects Child's observations are ingenious and suggestive, but, like all his contemporaries (with the partial exception of Nicholas Barbon), he labours under the disadvantage that he is attempting to deal with the *Art* of Political Economy before the subject had been fairly faced as a *Science*. His suggestions are therefore empirical, but the empiricism is that of a shrewd and experienced business man.

Sir William Petty, 1623-1687.

A still more versatile economist is Sir William Petty. He was in turns professor of anatomy at Oxford, and of music at Gresham College, physician to the army in Ireland, and Surveyor-General in the same country. He started iron works, lead mines, and sea fisheries. He invented a copying machine and a double-bottomed sea-going boat. Finally, he wrote on almost all the prominent economic questions of the day, but more especially on taxes and on money. Petty also advocated a

SIR WILLIAM PETTY. (*Engraving by J. Smith, after J. Closterman.*)
(*Sutherland Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford.*)

more thorough and general collecting of statistics, as a basis of economic discussion. "Until this be done," he wrote, "trade will be too conjectural a work for any man to employ his thoughts about." Nevertheless, Petty employed his thoughts about trade with considerable success. He was the first economist to formulate the often-quoted analogy, "Labour is the father, and active principle of wealth, as lands are the mother" ("Treatise of Taxes and Contributions," 1662). He arrived at remarkably sound conclusions as to the functions of money and the forces that determine the rate of interest, and

he did more than any of his predecessors to expose the fallacies of the "Mercantile" theory.

Nicholas Barbon, c. 1640-1680.

But of all the seventeenth-century economists, Nicholas Barbon perhaps best deserves the title of forerunner to Adam Smith, for Barbon, unlike his contemporaries, really tried to define those fundamental terms, the meaning of which was taken for granted by most of the pamphleteers, with the natural result of much looseness of thought:—"*To be well fed, well clothed, and well lodged, without labour of either body or mind, is the true definition of a rich man.*" ("Apology for the Builder," 1685). Here we have the fundamental assumption of modern political economy. The idea of money is almost banished from the definition of wealth. The "economic man" is brought before us in his unamiable simplicity. Labour, from the economic point of view, is simply an evil. In Barbon's "Discourse of Trade" (1690) he goes on to divide wares into natural and artificial, an approximation to the modern distinction between "land" and the products of labour. On value Barbon is equally suggestive. The "price to the artificer" depends, according to him, on the cost of materials, the time spent in working them, and the value of the art and the skill of the artificer. This is a better analysis of the cost of production than had yet been made. Barbon is equally careful to insist on the fact that market prices depend immediately upon supply and demand. Further on he insists that "*the prohibition of any foreign commodity doth hinder the making of so much of the native*," a striking anticipation of an essential doctrine of modern free traders that a check to imports acts as a check to exports. Unfortunately, Barbon had formed an utterly erroneous idea of how the exchange value of money was determined. He regarded it as a mere creation of law, and advocated a debasement of the coinage. He was the founder of the first fire insurance company and one of the first land banks. He is said to have been a son of Praise-God Barebone, from whom Barebone's Parliament was named. He was a Doctor of Medicine of Utrecht University, and a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, and sat in the House of Commons in 1690.

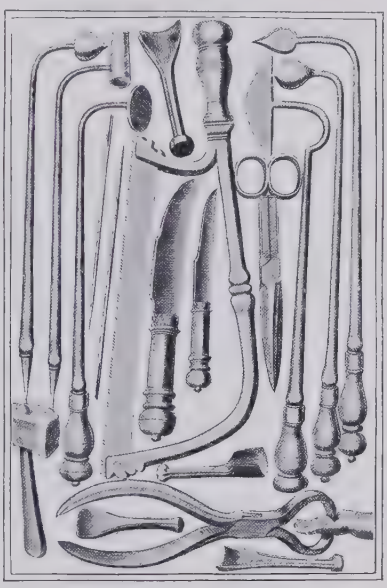
Of the other seventeenth-century economists we have not space to speak; but it is worthy of notice that hardly any

of them touched upon the question of the distribution of wealth, which is now regarded as the most important and interesting branch of economics. For them production—that is to say, the increase of the total national wealth—was the great question. Many of them, indeed, limited their thoughts to the wealth of the State, as distinguished from that of the nation. They were thinking of how the royal revenue could be best increased, rather than of how the nation as a whole could become wealthier.

CHARLES CREIGHTON. Medicine and Public Health.

To judge fairly of the specially English developments of medicine and surgery would require a somewhat full history. But it may be said in general that the notable paucity of writings and original observations in England, as compared with Italy, France, Germany, and the Netherlands, from the Revival of Learning to near the middle of the seventeenth century, should not be set down altogether to a backward state of the English profession. The College of Physicians of London, from its origin in the reign of Henry VIII., did much both for the scholarship and academic respectability of medicine, and for that somewhat tentative kind of progress by means of experience or empirical wisdom which is distinguished, by the name of Hippocratic, from the formal systems of doctrine based upon philosophical or scientific principles. In the sphere of pure science the London College was far from unproductive. One of its best presidents, Dr. Gilbert, who was also physician to Queen Elizabeth, wrote a memorable book, "De Magnete," which contains the discovery of terrestrial magnetism (vol. iii., p. 698). In the next reign the College in Knightrider Street was, year after year, the scene of those famous demonstrations on the heart and vessels by Dr. Harvey, physician to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, which made a new departure in physiology (p. 116). The glimpses that we obtain of the medicine of James I.'s reign, in the case-books and disquisitions of Sir Theodore Mayerne (not published until long after), are of a practice neither archaic nor effective. The manual of practical surgery, called "The Surgeon's Mate," which was written by Woodall primarily for the use of the ship surgeons of the East India Company, makes no pretensions to be the work of a learned man, such as

the great Italian anatomists and surgeons, Fallopius, Ingrassias, or Fabricius, might have produced; but, as a handy book for use in emergencies, it speaks well for the efficiency and resource of contemporary surgery in London. On board ship there was not much room for the elaborate compoundings of the apothecary, and some of Woodall's medicinal recipes are simplicity itself. On shore, however, and especially in practice among the rich, so many ingredients entered into potions, electuaries, and the like, and so much mystery attended the art of combining them, that a physician's credit depended largely upon the reputed value of his formulæ and an apothecary's profit upon their complexity. In the plague of 1636 the College of Physicians recommended a certain plague-water, in an expensive and a cheap form, for the rich and the poor respectively. It is now held to be unprofessional to write a prescription which shall be intelligible to none but an apothecary who is in the confidence of the physician, but as late as the eighteenth century there were physicians of the first rank who retained the property of their formulæ. In 1618 the College of Physicians, under the presidency of Dr. Atkins, took the important step of issuing a pharmacopœia, in which certain drugs were recognised as "officinal." In Paris there had been hot disputes shortly before that date over the question of recognising certain metallic remedies, especially antimony, the Paracelsist or chemical school advocating their use, and the Galenist or traditional school opposing. The London faculty were more tolerant, so much so that Mayerne (or Turquet), whose chemical leanings were obnoxious to the rigid orthodoxy of Paris, found



SURGICAL INSTRUMENTS.
(*Woodall, "Surgeon's Mate,"* 1639.)

The First Pharmacopœia.

it convenient to transfer his practice to the English capital, where he speedily rose to the leading place.

Medical Science in England.

It was not until the Restoration that English practical medicine took its great modern start, and, as an indigenous product, began to be received with consideration in Europe. But for a generation before that the English had made their mark in anatomy and physiology. In the sixteenth century the great schools for these subjects were abroad, as at Padua and Paris. At Padua there had been a remarkable succession of anatomists from 1539—Vesalius (a Belgian), Columbus, Fallopius, and Fabricius ab Aquapendente, with the last of whom Harvey (p. 115) studied for five or six years (1598–1604). Harvey's science was largely the methods of Padua turned to account by a clear-headed Englishman. But before his death (in 1657), and doubtless in part from his teaching and example, there had arisen a considerable native proficiency in exact anatomy, represented by the writings of Glisson, Wharton, and Highmore, each of whom has given his name to some part or tissue of the body in the received terminology of all countries. Those scientific lights did not all shine in London; Glisson practised for some years in Colchester (being professor at Cambridge) before he came to London, and Highmore all his life at Sherborne. Among the few who wrote (learnedly and sensibly) on medicine in that age were physicians practising at Norwich, Bristol, Chester, and the Hertfordshire town of Buntingford. Primrose, who wrote against Harvey and on many other subjects, practised at Hull.

Medicine after the Restoration.

The small group of men whose informal meetings for scientific discourse led to the incorporation of the Royal Society (p. 396) were in large proportion physicians, and the *Philosophical Transactions* of the society continued for many years to be the medium of publication for the rarities and curiosities of medical practice. Still more important for the prestige of English medicine after the Restoration were the writings of three practical physicians—Drs. Willis, Sydenham, and Morton. For the first time since John of Gaddesden's "Rosa Anglica," but with far more credit to English originality, the writings of English physicians were reproduced as text-books time after time at various foreign presses—Lyons, Geneva, Venice, Amsterdam. Sydenham, whose "Opera Omnia" were

reprinted oftenest, both in the original Latin and latterly in English, French, and German translations, held the position of a master for two or more generations after his death. His great vogue was not because he was encyclopædic in scope or philosophical in method, for there are many chapters in medicine

BIHAM OR BEAM HALL, OXFORD.

that he touched on but casually, and he did little more than sketch his general pathology in an occasional introduction or preface. But he was one of the first to give effect to Bacon's idea that diseases might be viewed as natural kinds, and described in full detail, or, as we now say, clinically, after the manner of natural history, and not merely as illustrations of this or that doctrine, to which something of the objective reality

would have to be sacrificed for consistency or harmony's sake. Sydenham was, of course, subject to theory, as we all are; more particularly, he was a thorough-going partisan of the cooling and lowering regimen, carrying blood-letting to such lengths that an apologist for him in the next century is obliged to meet the accusation that he was "a bloodthirsty man." But he had the art of drawing a true and faithful picture, as in his famous description of gout, which he knew well from personal experience, and in his accounts of many other maladies from time to time prevailing.

THOMAS WILLIS.
(*By permission of the Dean and Governing Body, Christ Church, Oxford.*)

Willis and Morton were both secured to the service of medicine, and diverted from their first love, the Church, by the troubles of the time — the former because, being a Laudian, he fell on the evil days of the Commonwealth; the latter because, being a Puritan, he fell on the evil days of the Act of Uniformity. Morton's writings, although much used abroad, fell far short of a complete exposition of medicine, being confined to the subject of fevers (including small-pox) and the varieties of consumption. Willis not only wrote specially on fevers and on diseases of the nervous system, but in his "Pharmaceutice Rationalis" he covered the ground of treatment as in a text-book, and that, too, in so fruitful and suggestive a manner that Radcliffe, the fashionable London doctor of the generation after, was currently said to have learned all he knew within the covers of Willis's works.

Surgery. The surgery of the Restoration, seen at its best in the "Severall Chirurgical Treatises" (1676) of Richard Wiseman, makes a peculiarly modern impression. A surgeon of our own time may have nothing to learn from Wiseman, but he will find himself separated from him by no great gulf. This pleasing

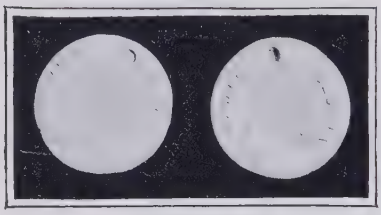
effect is due in part to the language in which he wrote—the English of the age of Dryden—and in part to the fact that surgery in its subject-matter comes always closer than internal medicine to palpable realities, which are the same in all ages and are intelligible across great spaces of history. In one thing only do we associate the great name of Wiseman with an old-world superstition. As sergeant-surgeon to Charles II. he passed

THOMAS SYDENHAM, M.D., BY MARY BEALE.
(*By permission of the Royal College of Physicians.*)

the subjects who were to be cured of scrofula by the royal touch, and assisted at the ceremonial. The selection of subjects was based upon the precedent of the Emperor Vespasian, who, on being entreated by a poor man from the crowd at Alexandria that he would touch his bleared or blind eyes with spittle, took the precaution of first asking the imperial physicians to find out whether the case was indeed curable. The first king in English annals whose touch was much sought after, Edward the Confessor, was so reputed for sanctity that not only scrofula and blindness, but even leprosy, were charmed away. When

The King's Touch for Scrofula.

James I. came from Holyrood to Westminster, and was in due time called upon to exercise the royal touch, he desired to break off the practice as an outworn superstition. But he was answered by his English ministers that to do so would be to abate the prerogative of the Crown, and so the practice continued more than a century longer—until the Hanoverian dynasty came in. William III. not only shared James I.'s impatience of the superstition, but took leave to express the same. At the Restoration it was in so great request that Charles II. could hardly have refused to touch, even if he had been a less good-natured prince than he was. On 28th March, 1684, says Evelyn, six or seven were crushed to death in the press of people at the Court surgeon's door to get their children passed for the royal touch. The ceremony was one of the spectacles that the gay world went to see. Charles II. sat in state in the Banqueting House, attended by the surgeons, the chaplains, and the Lord Chamberlain. The opening prayers and the Gospel having been read, the children were brought up in order to the steps of the throne, where kneeling they were stroked on either cheek by the king's hands, the chaplain saying over each, "He put His hands upon them and healed them." When they had all been touched, they came up again in the same order, and each had a white ribbon, with a medal of angel-gold hanging from it, put round the neck by the king. Then followed the Epistle, special prayers (in the old Prayer-Books) and the Benediction. Pepys superfluously remarks that the king performed his part "with great gravity." Touching for the evil was one of the last public acts of James II. (a Jesuit for his chaplain), at the very time when William of Orange was landing in Torbay. To the last there appear to have been medical men who believed in it, for when the infant Samuel Johnson was brought up by his mother to be touched by Queen Anne in 1712, it was by the advice (so Boswell was told by Hector) of a Lichfield physician, Sir John Floyer.



TOUCH-PIECE FOR THE KING'S EVIL, 1685.

Public Health: Retrospect.

The incident in the public health after the Restoration that overshadows all others is the Great Plague of London in 1665. This was the last of many great epidemics of the same disease in the history of the capital, and it is of special interest not only for its magnitude, but also as raising the question why it was the last. In many towns of England, Scotland, and Ireland the Civil Wars had brought a great revival of that old infection. There is, perhaps, no other period of eight or ten years in the history since the Black Death of 1348–49 in which so many great urban outbreaks of plague occurred together. Some of these began during sieges, or followed close upon them, as at Bristol, Newark, Lichfield, Leeds. Others were indirectly caused, or were aggravated, by the military stir, as at Chester, Manchester, Liverpool, and towns in the south-western and southern counties. In not a few instances the deaths, which were sometimes carefully registered by order of the military governors and tabulated according to weeks in printed bills of mortality, amounted to a fourth or fifth part of the population. The Chester epidemic destroyed 2,053 in the last six months of the year; that of Leeds, 1,325, among whom not a single person of wealth or note is discoverable; that of Lichfield, 821 among the inhabitants of twelve streets; that of Manchester, about a thousand; that of Bristol, about three thousand. Dublin, Kilkenny, Galway, and other Irish towns suffered greatly, the last-named having been absolutely wasted both among its poor and its merchants. Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Aberdeen were the seats of the more disastrous outbreaks in Scotland—the last, with two adjoining fishing villages, having lost about 1,800 from plague in little more than a year. The chief epidemic effect of the Civil Wars on the public health, besides the encouragement to plague, was the production of typhus fever. So far as is accurately known, this happened only at the beginning of the war, in Oxfordshire and Berkshire, and at Tiverton and other places the year after. Whether it was owing to the better discipline of the troops under Fairfax and Cromwell, after the supersession of Essex as Lord-General, or to some other cause, this usual accompaniment of campaigns, both among soldiers and people, is hardly heard of in England after the first

War Typhus.

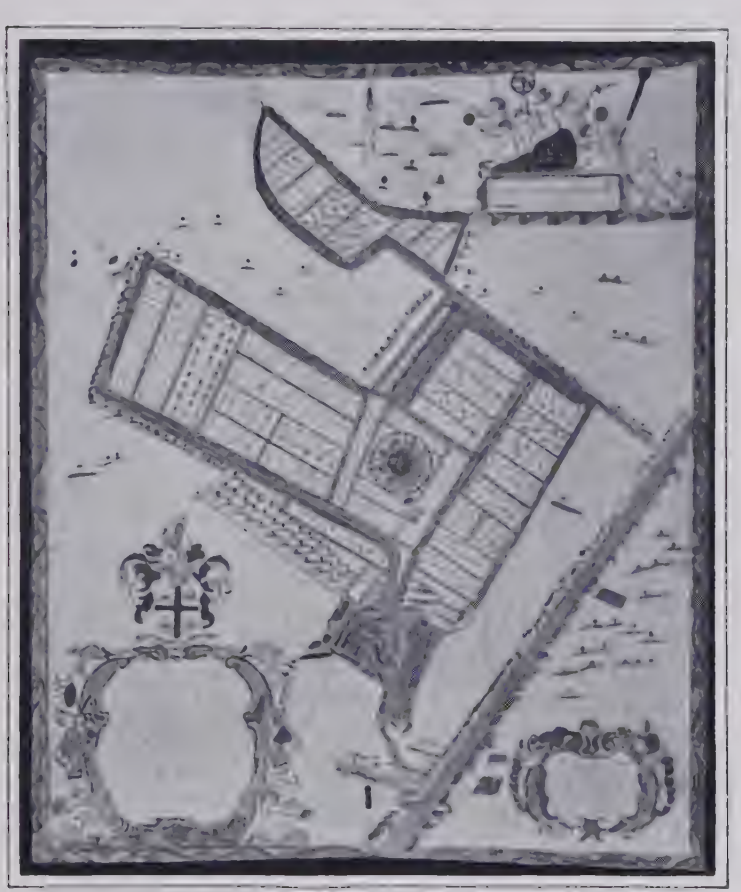
year or two. These brief experiences of war typhus are nearly all that English epidemiology can point to for many centuries, whereas the numerous wars on the Continent, from the beginning of the sixteenth century to the peace of 1815, made that kind of infection familiar both in camps and in the track of armies.

The Great Plague, 1665.

The Great Plague, which began in London in the spring of 1665, was a surprising interruption of a long period of freedom from the pest, which the citizens might have expected to be permanent. For sixteen years there had been only a few deaths, half a dozen or a score in a whole year, which occurred here and there over the wide area of the metropolis, and made no impression. Sixteen years was the longest clear interval hitherto. But in the reign of Elizabeth there had been two periods of nine or ten years each with little or no plague in London, and the greater part of the reign of James I.—from 1611 to 1625—was equally free from it. In the space of half a generation men forget a good deal; and thus it happened that the plague of 1665, like those of 1625 and 1603, was traced to importation from abroad—from Holland or the Levant, or some other country where the infection had happened to be most active just before it became active in this country. In the historical view this pleasing doctrine of plague as an infection foreign to England becomes untenable; the infection was at home in our own soil, and had been so continuously for centuries.

Several things combined to give the epidemic of 1665 unusual magnitude, but there was one thing especially that determined the time of it. This was the extreme drought of the previous winter and spring. A long frost from before Christmas, more or less continuous to March, with little snow, and a dry, cold spring, with only a few showers until June, left the subsoil dry to an unusual depth. The oldest inhabitant remembered no such drought, and at that time it was impossible to check him by an appeal to meteorological records. An extreme range of the ground-water, or the filling of the pores of the soil with air to an unusual depth, is now well known to have some real relation to the activity of a soil poison such as we may assume the virus of the plague to have been. It needed only the co-operation of a great drought to

make effective many other accumulating causes of a pestilential outbreak. If the plague had followed precedent, it would have broken out at the beginning of the new reign, as in 1603 and 1625, when the concourse of people to the



A SURVEY OF NEWINGTON IN 1670.
(*By permission of the Elder Brethren, Trinity House, London.*)

capital doubtless favoured it. All through the Civil Wars London had been the safest place of residence, and had grown fast, while other towns were languishing. In 1662 Graunt estimated the population at 460,000, of which about a fifth part were housed in the somewhat regularly built, but now over-

Growth of London.

filled, City, while the multitudes of the poorer class were crowded into the alleys and courts of Cripplegate, Spitalfields, Whitechapel, Wapping, St. Olave's and other Southwark parishes, Bermondsey, Newington Butts, Lambeth, St. Giles's, the Western Liberties, and Clerkenwell. If the old City was unsanitary, the liberties and out-parishes were more so, for they had been built upon with few main arteries besides the old country highways, and they made on a map the impression rather of an interminable maze than of an orderly system of streets. The old sites of laystalls, where the soil of the City used to be deposited, had become in turn the sites of houses, while it had become more and more difficult to dispose of the refuse and to provide for the safe interment of the dead. The inhabited ground could not be other than full of decomposing organic matters, which in a fitting season would give off pestilential miasmata.

Spread of the Infection.

The infection of plague was slow to begin, although there was much typhus fever, which was suspected in some cases to conceal the diagnosis of plague. Until the first week of May, only three deaths from plague had been recorded in 1665; they began to rise slowly throughout June, and at the beginning of July they were so many as to show that an epidemic of the first degree was coming. St. Giles's-in-the-Fields, then the westernmost parish and the highest inhabited ground, had the first taste of it. The infection proceeded slowly down Holborn, and by way of Clerkenwell to Cripplegate and the City, with the same slowness reaching the Southwark parishes. Its course can be traced by means of the weekly bills of mortality, which gave the returns from the sextons and clerks of one hundred and forty parishes. It was by studying closely these weekly statistics that Defoe was enabled to base an otherwise imaginative narrative upon a firm foundation of fact. Thus, the bills make clear the fact of a slow progress from west to east, which permits the "Journal of the Plague Year" to unfold events like a drama. While the infection was creating panic in St. Giles's, the business of the City, of the eastern parishes, and of the Borough went on as usual; when it became the turn of Cripplegate, Whitechapel, and Stepney in the autumn, St. Giles's and St. Martin's had got over it. In the end of

August Pepys, who remained at his official residence, the Navy Office, in Seething Lane, met hardly twenty people from one end of Lombard Street to the other, and not more than fifty on the Exchange. A week after, Evelyn, coming up from his house near Deptford, found the line of streets from the Old Kent Road through the City to St. James's nearly empty of people, the shops shut, and many coffins at the doors of houses awaiting burial. The first fortnight of September was the worst time, the deaths from plague averaging about one thousand in a day, with nearly two hundred a day more from other assigned causes. There was naturally much distress from the stoppage of all work and trading; but the markets were kept well supplied, the price of the loaf rose little or not at all, and the Lord Mayor, who was fortunately an effective person, sat daily at the Mansion House to administer the relief supplied by contributions from all parts of England. As the infection subsided towards the end of October, the streets once more put on an air of business, but with many poor creatures begging in them—some hardly cured of their plague-sores, or limping from the suppurations in the groin which attended the numerous recoveries towards the decline of the epidemic. Compared with the plagues of 1603 and 1625, from which the most graphic authentic particulars have come down, that of 1665 was probably attended with less lawlessness in the plundering of houses from which the inhabitants had fled, and with more regard to decency in the burial of the dead, Defoe's harrowing pictures notwithstanding. Nearly all the clergy, magistrates and doctors had taken flight, along with the richer classes in general. Several of the ministers ejected three years before occupied the pulpits of City churches, so that the "silenced" clergy, or the Nonconformists, gained in this time of danger a certain liberty of ministering in public which they never afterwards lost. Among the doctors who remained were two eminent for their scientific writings, Glisson and Wharton, and Milton's friend, Dr. Paget. Several high personages of the Court stayed in town to look after the public business, and were afterwards presented with silver cups by the king. When the mortality bill of the year was added up, it came to 97,386, of which only 68,596 were set down to plague,

although it is probable that two-thirds of the remainder were from plague also. The old practice of "shutting up" infected houses was carried out (until it came to the absurd length of shutting up nearly all the houses of a street); and as the shutting up of a house, on the plague being notified in it, increased the peril of the inmates and was generally dreaded, there was a strong motive for bribing the searchers to give the disease some other name. In many of the villages and towns near London there were deaths from plague in 1665, owing to the numbers tramping the home counties, after the manner of Defoe's three men from Wapping. But although the fugitives from London, especially those of the better class, penetrated to all parts, the infection was far from general in England. The often-narrated epidemic of Eyam, in the Peak of Derbyshire, which lasted into the second summer, and left only thirty alive out of a population (besides those who fled) of nearly three hundred, was an almost isolated event in the heart of England. The whole of the north (but for a few cases on the Wear and Tyne), the west, and the south-west escaped; and in the south the places chiefly affected were the dockyards or naval stations, then busy with the Dutch war. It was in the eastern counties, which had suffered little from plague during the Civil Wars, that the infection rose to great virulence in 1665 and 1666. At Yarmouth it began sooner than in London itself; at Colchester it caused one of the highest mortalities recorded for any period, in ratio of the population (4,817 deaths); at Cambridge and Peterborough the epidemics were also of the first degree, the mortality at the last named continuing into the spring of 1667, and bringing the epidemic history of plague in England to an end. A few isolated deaths occurred in London every year to 1679, when they finally disappeared from the bills. The malignant typhus fever of 1685–86, and the peculiar seasons preceding it, were so like the usual antecedents of a great periodic outburst of plague that fears of the old scourge of London once more arose, which Sydenham seems to have shared. But, for some mysterious reason, the reign of plague was over.

Plague in the Country.

After the Plague.

London soon made up the loss of about a fifth of its population. Before two years the births were up to their old figure, and surpassing it. But the public health of London—

Village Street with Plague House and Church.

Tomb of Mrs. Mompesson.

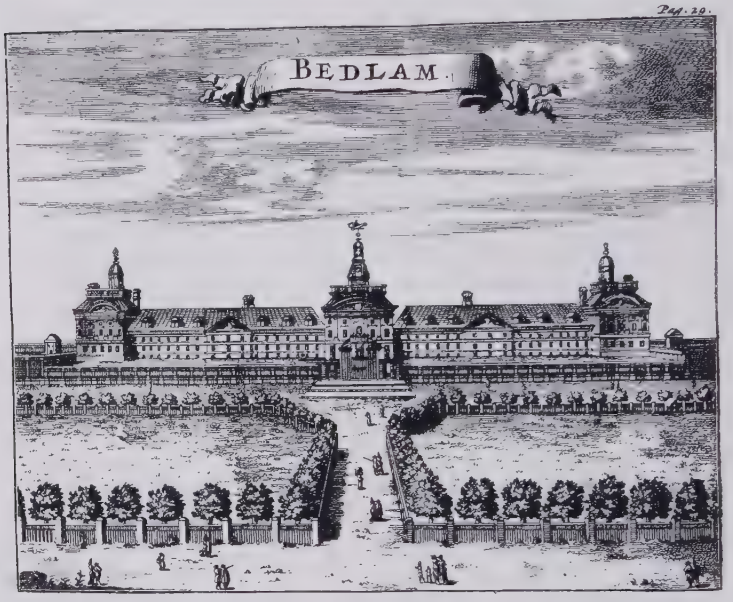
Cucklet Church.

The Plague House.

MEMORIALS OF THE PLAGUE AT EYAM, DERBYSHIRE.

not only of the extramural part, where the bulk of the population was, but even of the City itself after it had been "purged by fire"—became little better when plague was out of the way. In three consecutive periods of thirteen years each, the first of which includes the year of the Great Plague, the annual averages of deaths were:

1653—1665	...	...	...	19,946
1666—1678	...	...	...	17,990
1679—1691	...	...	...	22,237



BETHLEHEM HOSPITAL.

(*Misson*, "*Mémoires*," 1698.)

The increase in the last period is fully accounted for by the growth of population—now as far afield westwards as Red Lion Square, Soho Square, Seven Dials, and along Piccadilly half-way to Hyde Park. Moorfields, also, was rapidly built over immediately after the fire of 1666, pending the rebuilding of the City. But with due allowance for the increase of inhabitants, the mortality was little less than in the old plague times on an average of years. In no year, from the extinction of the plague until the last decennium of the eighteenth

A MAP or GROVNDPLOT of the Citty of London and the Suburbs thereof that is to say, all which is within the Iurisdiction of the Lord Mayor or properlie called London by which is exactly demonstrated the present condition therof since the last sad accident of fire. The blanke space figuring the burnt part & where the houses are exprest those places yet standig.
THE RIVER THAMES
Part of Southwarke
The Tower
A GENERALL MAP of the whole Citty of London with Westminster & all the Suburbs, by which may bee computed the proportion of that which is burnt with the other parte standing
Annotations of the Churches and other remarkable places in the Map

THE EFFECT OF THE GREAT FIRE OF 1666.

(From a Plan by W. Hollar.)

century, do the bills of the parish clerks show an excess of baptisms over burials, and in most years they show a greater shortcoming of births than the somewhat negligent registration of baptisms could account for. On the other hand, there were many years of the earlier period, in the intervals between the greater explosions of plague, when the baptisms exceeded the burials by various fractions up to twenty-five per cent. But, whereas in the plague-period the high mortalities were largely of adults, there is reason to think that afterwards they fell more upon the age of infancy. The sacrifice of infant life in London from the Restoration until late in the eighteenth century was enormous, the deaths under the age of two amounting in some years to two-fifths of the deaths at all ages, and to more than half the births. One great cause of this high mortality among infants was the same summer diarrhœa that cuts off so many weakly infants in the manufacturing and shipping towns at present. In each of three successive hot summers and autumns in London, 1669–71, that malady added some two thousand to the bill for the year in the course of some eight or ten weeks. An epidemic of measles in 1674, the first severe one that is recorded, brought up the deaths, by its direct and indirect effects, to a much higher average for the first six months of the year than a severe epidemic of small-pox did in the last six. Among the adults not only small-pox, but, still more, typhus fever contributed largely to the death-roll, and that, too, in rich and even noble houses as well as in the crowded quarters of the poor. In all respects it is probable that the health of the capital was worse than that of other towns, or of the country at large. But in certain unhealthy seasons, such as those of 1669–71, 1678–80, 1685–86, and 1688-89, there were many market towns and country parishes whose registers showed an excess of burials over christenings, the special occasional causes having been widely prevailing fevers, epidemic agues with influenzas, and small-pox. There had been no famine, nor even dearth, since 1661. The mere idea of real famine had become unfamiliar to Englishmen, for Pepys enters in his diary on the 9th April, 1662: "Sir George [Carteret] showed me an account in French of the great famine, which is to the greatest extremity in some part of France at this day; which is very strange."

Infant Mortality.

A. L. SMITH. The Composition of Society.

At the Restoration we are still among characters and confronted with ideas of the Tudor times. With the Revolution, a generation later, the modern world has begun. Between the England of that date and the England of the present reign, Macaulay has drawn a pointed and effective contrast. But for all that, the essential features of the England of to-day were already traceable. There was a constitutional monarchy and a Parliamentary settlement of the succession; the standing army and the cabinet system of government were in course of growth; the press was practically free; religious toleration was logically inevitable; the French wars, the National Debt, the Colonial and Indian Empire, were great facts already appearing upon the political horizon. There is, accordingly, a peculiar interest in defining the different social classes which had then lately come into distinct being. They are, essentially, the social classes of to-day, and not religious divisions, any more than feudal castes.

Social Classes.

When the feudal arrangement of society had broken down, the Reformation had tended to substitute an arrangement according to religious and political creed. This tendency had been still further accentuated by the whole movement of the Puritan age. But now that Puritanism had spent its first force, and ceased to be the one dividing line, there could appear what may be called the natural strata, the divisions marked by purely social differences such as wealth or occupation. Thus during Charles II.'s reign, despite the "Clarendon code," the gulf was becoming less wide between Puritans and Prelatists. There were rumours all through 1660 of what was to be done by the extreme wing of the Puritan party; but the great Anabaptist movement only resolved itself into the fiasco of Venner's rising; and when the City elections, in the spring of 1661, returned Independents, the country at large gave unequivocal testimony by the men it sent to Parliament that it was thoroughly sick of religious strife. Pepys, indeed, came to the rather hasty conclusion that religion was "nothing but a fashion." The Restoration had been more a social than a political reaction. It was a reconstitution of the old social order—a return of lords and gentry, lawyers, and clergy, to their old positions. There was even by some writers a scheme

proposed for making a sharp and permanent division between classes such as prevailed in France. The nobles were to be raised higher above the masses; the commons confined to trade; the clergy entrusted with jurisdiction; and so on. The fullest view of the position and relations of the various classes is the contemporary estimate by Gregory King. He sets the population at five and a half millions. It had about doubled since 1583. His evidence is chiefly drawn from returns to the hearth-tax. Tested by the inquiry made under William III., and by Finlaison's computations derived from the parish registers, the estimate would require a little deduction, and the most recent calculations would put the figure at not more than 5,000,000. This would mean that the land was fully peopled for its then existing capacity of agricultural production; as is further indicated by the high average price of wheat, 1650–90. Half the kingdom was computed to consist of moors, fens, and forests. Seventeenth-century account-books show an immense amount of game and venison purchased by the rich. The surveyor Norden (p. 179) speaks of 140 iron furnaces fed by the Sussex woods, as well as numerous glass-works in Surrey. Many parts of the kingdom were far behind the rest in all material civilisation. The united assessment of the six northern counties to the land-tax of 1693 was about equal to that of Hants or Wilts or Gloucester, and far below other single counties (Kent, Surrey, Sussex, Devon, Somerset, Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk). Compare the assessments to ship-money, or to the monthly income tax of the Commonwealth, or in lieu of feudal rights 1660, or to the poor rate 1689; the same picture is revealed. Nor is Yorkshire or Wales much better off. Thus the great district north of the Humber, in area one-fifth of England, contained less than one-seventh of the total population. And here, as in Derbyshire, Lincolnshire, and Wales, the proportion of hearths to inhabited houses was from $1\frac{1}{4}$ to $1\frac{1}{2}$; in Dorset or Devon it was nearly $2\frac{1}{2}$. So, a writer in 1670 declares that land worth twenty-eight years' purchase in the west would only fetch sixteen years' in the north—the north, where the Peel-towers were still useful refuges, where the judges on circuit needed a strong guard of troops, where the magistrates had to raise armed men to protect property, and the parishes kept bloodhounds to hunt down robbers.

Population and Production.

In the interesting estimate ot class divisions made by Gregory King in 1688, he reckons the nobility and gentry at 16,600; merchants, clergy, lawyers, and civil service, 10,000 each profession; "liberal arts," 15,000; officers of army and navy, 9,000. He puts the average income of a knight at £650, an esquire, £450; a gentleman, £280. These sums of money must be multiplied five-fold or six-fold to be expressed in modern equivalents. It would be a mistake to dwell too much upon the rude manner of life of the rural gentry, their illiterateness, their prejudices. If they were half boors, they

The Classes and their Income.

The Gentry.

TRADES OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

(*Randle Holme, "Academy of Armoury,"* 1688.)

were also half nobles by birth and officials by training. By custom and by the practical monopoly which their position gave them, they held in their hands the higher commissions in army, navy, and militia, the justiceships of the peace, the best Church preferments, and a large share of the numerous and only too well-paid public offices. The House of Lords had been recruited from their ranks, 99 peerages having become extinct under the Stuarts and 193 created, as well as 800 baronets. The Lords and the gentry formed, in fact, one strong ruling class, and the Church came more and more to identify its interests with theirs; the Test Act and the appointment of

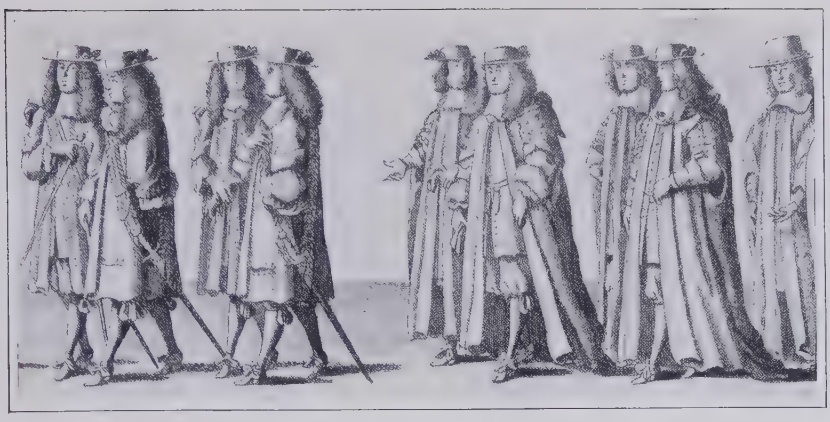
clergymen to sit on the Commission of the Peace co-operated towards this result from different sides. Political life, for all the corruption at the centre, was locally both vigorous and honest; the Habeas Corpus Act and the Revolution are a proof of the strength and soundness of "the country party." We may take as a typical English squire of the time Mr. Masters, of Kent, whose account-books have been preserved. His income was between £300 and £400 a year; he had been educated at Cambridge; he kept horses and carriages and quite a number of servants; he could afford to buy expensive periwigs and beaver hats. A decline from his early Puritan training is indicated by his replacing Baxter's "Saints' Rest" by Butler's "Hudibras."

The Clergy.

As to the clergy, their total revenue is estimated at only £500,000. It was no longer the great Church of the Middle Ages, comprehending all professions, dominating the State, and closely bound up with the baronage. In 1685 two only of the bishops were sons of peers. The country parsons are described as being both poor and ignorant as a rule. Between them and the learned and influential town preacher there was a great gulf. Yet, it is important not to forget that there was still a powerful hierarchy; that up to 1717 Convocation was still active; that there was a strong Church feeling in the nation and in the Church itself; and that the clergy were on the very eve of a rapid rise in social consideration.

The Yeomen.

The name yeomen had come to be used almost as a general term for the whole middle class below the rank of gentry. But, in its stricter sense of freeholders, it was estimated to cover 180,000 families, about one-sixth of the whole population. Of their political and religious spirit, of their ample means and their fighting capacities, the Civil War and the Commonwealth gave emphatic evidence. Forty or fifty pounds a year was, according to Chamberlayne, "a very ordinary revenue for a freeholder, and £100 or £200 in some counties not rare; sometimes in Kent and Sussex £500 or £600 per annum, and £3,000 or £4,000 stock." Even a hundred years later there were still 9,000 freeholders in Kent. But it was already, by the close of the seventeenth century, part of the policy of a landowner to buy out the freeholders. The merchants also were eager to become landowners. Thus the extinction of the yeomanry



Gentlemen. Doctors of Physic.

Poor Men.

Earls.

Clergymen.

GRADES OF SOCIETY.

(*F. Sandford, "Funeral of the Duke of Albemarle,"* 1670.)

had already begun. Political, social, and economic causes all co-operated to this result, assisted possibly by the Statute of Frauds, 1666, which required written evidence of title (p. 502).

The Farmers. The class of farmers was probably a little smaller. Gregory King assigns them an average income of £42 10s., and an average holding of forty to fifty acres. There is evidence that, on the whole, the class was not in a satisfactory condition. They were ignorant (p. 602): agriculture was still unprogressive; there was "a kind of madness of competition among them," according to Norden, which led to the practice of "fines," a virtual confiscation of improvements. Rents were high; they are put by the same authority at 5s. 6d. an acre arable, and 8s. 8d. an acre pasture; and though neither the evidences for the fact nor the causes of it are quite clear, they rose at an extraordinary rate in the century. On the estates of St. John's, Cambridge, the rent in 1666 was £537; the "old rent" was £140. This rate of rising is borne out by both the Holkham and the Belvoir rentals. From such data it has been calculated that a farmer of 200 acres would pay, in rent, £60; in labour bills, £78; tithe, £20; leaving for his own support £30, and £37 for interest on his capital (£400). The price of corn was only moderately high between 1660 and 1685; but farming must have been a very varying and speculative business.

Enclosures. Enclosures in the sense of conversion of arable into pasture and the "approving" of commons and wastes, were apparently less rife in this century than in the preceding one. The age of enclosures, in the other sense of re-arranging into "severalties" the holdings in the "champion" or open fields, had hardly begun. The agricultural writers of the century, in attacking the wastefulness of the open-field system, speak of it as still general; "fields, being enclosed, will let for thrice as much." Professor Ashley computes that if there were eight shires pretty generally enclosed, there were at least fourteen in which intermixed and communal holdings were still the rule.

The Rural Labourers. England was still a land chiefly of agriculture, and the large class to which we now apply the term agricultural labourers probably comprised two and a half millions in 1685. The wage of a thatcher in 1641 had been, in summer, 6d. a day with three meals; but the Civil War raised wages. Moreover, the law that wages should be periodically fixed by the justices seems to have

THE COUNTRY ROUND CAMBRIDGE, SHOWING OPEN FIELDS.

(*From engravings by David Loggan, about* 1675).

been a dead letter. For instance, the Warwickshire justices' assessment of 1684 attempts to fix 8d. a day; but the ordinary agricultural wage at that date was actually 1s. a day. The labourer still had domestic industries to assist him; wool and linen were spun and woven at home, and sold in the market towns. Meat was fairly cheap; wheat from 1660 to 1685 was below the average of the century; but bread was of barley more commonly than of wheat, according to the statement in a Statute of the time. But the class was beginning to feel the pressure which was soon to force them on the poor-rates. The Corn Laws, in their modern form, began in 1661 and 1664. The prices of necessaries were rising. The criminal code of the age fell heavily on the poorer classes; and the Revolution of 1689, like the Restoration of 1660, was a victory mainly for the nobles, gentry, and wealthier burgesses.

The Town Population.

The population living in cities and towns was about 1,400,000. But of this total London accounted for half a million. Bristol and Norwich were each under 30,000; York and Exeter, only 10,000; Manchester, 6,000; Sheffield and Birmingham, 4,000. The average earnings of an artisan are set at 14s. 7d. a week. Cloth was made in the West Riding of Yorkshire, and in the district between Witney, Cirencester, Bristol, and Sherborne; and baize, serges, and crapes in the eastern counties. There were several iron-working districts (pp. 169, 609). But the age of manufactures on the great scale had not yet set in.

The Poor Laws.

The general attitude of the time towards the industrial classes may be judged from two contemporaries. King argues that nearly half the nation actually diminished the wealth of the community because their expenditure was greater than their income, and the difference has to be made up by the poor-rates. Davenant remarks that, despite the poor-laws, many poor die yearly from famine. The total of the poor-rate, indeed, was £665,362 in 1685—a sum equal to the excise, or one-third of the total revenue (whereas it is now less than one-eighth). It was heaviest in the eastern counties, from the flow of population to the new industries there. This fact, with the trade jealousies against new rivals, helps to explain the Settlement Laws, which to a modern mind seem so stupid as well as cruel. The Poor Laws have been the labourers' and workmen's greatest enemies; and men already began to urge that they were "England's great

concern." A copious literature upon the subject began in this period. Child proposed a Board of "Fathers of the Poor," equipped with despotic powers and a well-filled treasury. Stanley's remedy was a house of correction in each shire and a "vagrant ward." Yarranton issued a comprehensive scheme "to set all the poor to work, outdo the Dutch without fighting, pay debts without money, prevent law-suits, and make rivers navigable"—all to be accomplished by State fostering of flax-growing and iron-works. A more sober plan was that of Sir Matthew Hale, to provide work for the poor. But there were many proposals; some, as Eden remarks, "as practicable as the advice given to children to catch birds by putting salt on their tails." The fact was that a period had begun in the history of the Poor Laws which it is difficult to characterise in measured language—a period which reaches its climax during the Napoleonic wars, and which only ended with the great reform of 1834, the new Poor Law.

THE PEDLAR'S LAMENT, 1685.
(*Roxburghe Ballad.*)

MARY BATESON. Social Life.

THOSE who had been sustained by the faith that "Lofty designs must close in like effects," at the Restoration had to face the test of failure. To them the last state may have seemed worse than the first; they had striven after the best, only perhaps to make it harder for others to attain the good. In all those directions in which effort had been greatest, the failure looked most complete. They had swept away a Court and its vices, but the result was a restoration of a Court with worse vices. It was only by success in inconspicuous places and in unforeseen directions that they could feel that their faith and hopes were justified. Unwittingly, they had set forces to work which led to an awakening of intelligence in town and country; men began

to use their inventive powers and reasoning faculties; events outside the sphere of personal and family affairs began to arouse a new and general interest. This result had not been sought by the leaders of the Commonwealth, but it was the natural consequence of their insistence on the religious side of man's nature in an age when questions of religion and politics were one; they made religion what it had not been before, an intellectual interest, and thereby opened the way to the multiplication of such interests. It became fashionable to be well informed on scientific, literary, artistic, and political matters. Perhaps some of the new class of "virtuosi" were at more pains to show than to have intellectual tastes, because such tastes admitted them to the best society; perhaps some became politicians because it was the fashion to be able to talk political gossip; nevertheless, the prevalence of these tastes had a civilising influence on the country at large.

Court Influence.

Whoever would sustain the paradox that the ideals of the Commonwealth caused the evils of the Restoration, might with equal truth assert that the degradation of English morals was due to the virtues, or rather gifts, of Charles II. and his courtiers, and is not to be charged to their vices. Their gifts made immorality appear part of good breeding and essential to charm. Burnet, writing of Charles II.'s manners, says they were

"never enough to be commended; he was a perfectly well-bred man, easy of access, free in his discourse, and sweet in his whole deportment."

His quickness of apprehension and observation gave him his reputation as a wit, but according to the Marquis of Halifax,[1]

"he was apter to make broad allusions upon anything that gave the least occasion than was altogether suitable with the very good breeding he shewed in most other things. . . . The hypocrisy of the former times inclined men to think they could not shew too great an aversion to it (hypocrisy), and that helped to encourage this unbounded liberty of talking, without the restraints of decency which were before observed."

Charles II.'s selfishness and duplicity led him to take a cynical view of the rest of the world, and through his influence cynicism became a mark of "fine-gentlemanship." On the other hand, he did nothing to revive the big and varied oaths

[1] Halifax, "Character of Charles II." (published 1750), p. 30.

THE COUNTESS DE GRAMMONT.

(Hampton Court Palace.)

of the early Stuart period, his own exclamation being generally "'odds fish"; and it should be added that neither he nor his brother was a drunkard or an inveterate gambler, though both vices prevailed at their Courts. It is not necessary to enlarge here on the history of their many mistresses; it may

THE STAGE ABOUT 1670.
(*Kirkman, "The Wits,"* 1673.)

suffice to recall that their existence was publicly acknowledged, and that two were made ladies of the bedchamber to the queen.[1]

[1] A striking contrast to the general tone of the Court is afforded by the life of Margaret Blagge (published after her death by Evelyn), a maid of honour to the Duchess of York, and a saint among sinners,

It was an age in which the pleasures of life were appreciated to the full; yet there is no evidence of eager search after variety. Charles II., his courtiers, and their hangers-on, went to the theatre day after day with unwearying persistence. The king kept himself in health by perfect regularity in his exercise, business hours, and amusements—illicit and other. At Newmarket he went walking every morning, to horse-races every afternoon after dinner, then to a cock-fight, then to a play, and after supper to his mistress, the Duchess of Portsmouth.[1]

The Stage

The Newmarket plays were "acted in a barn by very ordinary Bartlemewfair comedians," but they were attended by the Court as regularly as the two London theatres, the Duke's and the King's. Two small theatres supplied the needs of Londoners at this time, because only members and would-be members of the Court circle were regular spectators.

Pepys describes the stage as "a thousand times better and more glorious than ever heretofore," the stage lit with wax-candles, and many of them in chandeliers, where formerly there were not above three pounds of tallow, "now all things civil, no rudeness anywhere."[2] The central dome was still open to the weather, but in spite of this drawback the pit was filled with gentlemen and ladies (sitting on benches without backs), and when a hailstorm came on, the theatre emptied. The highest charge was 4s. for the boxes, the lowest 1s. for the upper gallery. It was pre-eminently an age of fine actors and actresses, but spectacular effects, and the French ballet-dancing taught by St. André excited as much interest as good acting.

Cards.

Night after night, Sundays not excepted, the queen and the king's mistresses played either the Spanish ombre, which sent "primero" out of fashion, or basset, a simple gambling game resembling baccarat. Evelyn notes that James II.'s queen was exceedingly concerned for the loss of £80 at basset, July 13th, 1686.[3]

Dances.

For some time the old-fashioned brawl, or brantle, the coranto, and country dances were favourites at Court, but in 1666 Pepys notes the introduction of new French dances.

The most fashionable outdoor exercises were tennis and pell-mell, in which the object was to hit a ball through two

[1] Reresby, "Memoirs," ed. Cartwright, p. 299. [2] February 12th, 1666-7.
[3] *Cf.* also his entry, January 6th, 1666-2.

hoops, placed at the head and end of a long alley. Citizens and peasants were faithful to football;[1] the Grand Duke Cosmo noted that women of the lower orders were suffered to play ball in the public streets. Amusements.

Cock-fighting was a favourite sport of the gentry, and admission cost 2s. 6d.;[2] bull- and bear-baiting were for the vulgar, and no longer fashionable in good society. On August 17th, 1667, Evelyn refused to be a spectator when a horse was baited and killed, but went July 16th, 1670, and came back Cock-fighting and Bear-baiting.

> "most heartily weary of the rude and dirty pastime, which I had not seene, I think, in twenty years before."

Foreigners were taken to see the baitings as a peculiarly English amusement.[3] Deer-hunting in Hampton Park, if we may judge from the account of the Grand Duke Cosmo, had become a form of baiting.

Sometimes the arena of the bear-garden was used for fencing, boxing, and prize-fights, advertised in the town by criers with drums and trumpets. Jorevin gives an account of the horrible wounds he saw inflicted in a sword-fight, and concludes: Fencing and Boxing.

> "For my part I think there is an inhumanity . . . in permitting men to kill each other for diversion, . . . I should have had more pleasure in seeing the battle of the bears and dogs, which was fought the following day on the same theatre."[4]

Sorbière, on the other hand, complains that the fighters were merely playing, and did not hit hard enough.[5]

In the country districts the old-fashioned sports were still kept up, on week-days.[6]

No London pleasure ground was able to maintain a reputation for respectability for more than a short period. Those which Cromwell had closed made no effort to recover their position on the Restoration, but a New Spring Garden[7] was Pleasure Grounds.

[1] Chamberlayne, "State of England," 1676.

[2] "Life of the Hon. Sir Dudley North," ed. Jessopp, p. 4.

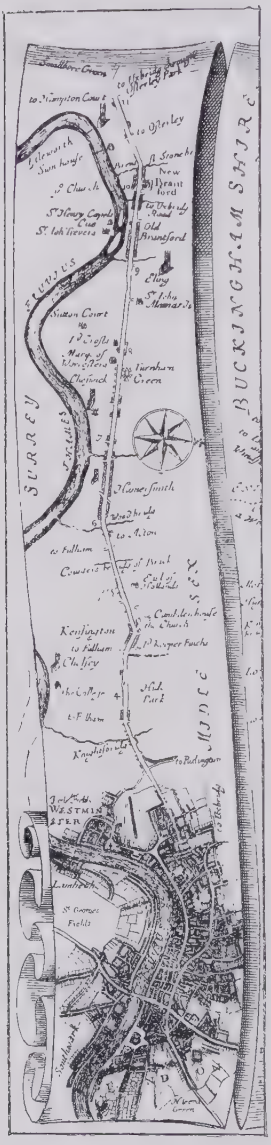
[3] Reresby, "Memoirs," p. 242 (1682); and *see* the travels of Cosmo, Sorbière, and Jorevin.

[4] Grose, "Antiquarian Repertory," IV., 571; "Jorevin's Travels," 1672.

[5] "Voyage to England," p. 72.

[6] *Cf.* "Life of the Hon. Roger North," ed. Jessopp, p. 9.

[7] "Old" Spring Gardens are mentioned in 1653 by Dorothy Osborne, p. 239, ed. E. A. Parry.



THE ROAD FROM LONDON TO BRENTFORD.

(*Ogilby, "Britannia," 1675.*)

opened at Vauxhall, or Foxhall, with a beautiful pleasure house, and numerous arbours in which people dined. Evelyn calls it, in 1661, "a pretty contrived plantation," and fine people walked there to hear the nightingales. In 1668 it was no longer respectable.[1]

To drive in the "Ring" or the "Tour" of Hyde Park, after the play, towards evening, was as fashionable as ever. The royal party was generally to be seen there. The Park was walled in, and refreshments, in the form of cheesecake, tarts, and syllabub (wine and cream sweetened) were to be bought at the entrance lodge. The dust was found so troublesome that in 1664 a charge of 6d. per coach was levied to defray the expense of watering the roads.[2] Lackeys and footmen were not admitted, but awaited the return of their masters at the entrance.[3]

In St. James's Park, opened to the public by Charles II., the chief interest was the flock of water-fowl, especially if the king or duke were feeding them. Before making a new dress, Mrs. Pepys walked in Gray's Inn Gardens to see the fashions.

The citizens' favourite evening walk was in Lamb's Conduit Fields, north of High Holborn; on holidays, in Hoxton Fields; on Sundays, in Spa Fields, Clerkenwell;—

"Your glass-coach will to Hyde Park for air; the suburb fools trudge to Lamb's Conduit or Tottenham; your sprucer sort of

[1] Pepys, May 30th and June 1st, 1668.

[2] Larwood, "London Parks": Hyde Park, p. 70.

[3] Cosmo, p. 175 (1669).

ST. JAMES'S PARK AND PALACE IN 1689.

citizens gallop to Epsom; your mechanic gross fellows, shewing much conjugal affection, strut before their wives, each with a child in his arms, to Islington or Hogsden."[1]

Coffee Houses.

After the early dinner, the members of literary and political societies went to the coffee-house or club. Sir J. Harrington's Rota, at the Turk's Head, continued famous, and Pepys, having paid his entrance fee of 1s. 6d., describes a debate held there. The host of the coffee-house was the recipient of all the town gossip. Each, on entering, asks the "threadbare question, 'What news have you, Master?'" and the host tells him "what he has heard the barber to the tailor of a great courtier's man say."[2] The freedom of the political opinions expressed, especially in the private rooms with their "tables for irreligion and rota for politics," made Clarendon suggest a system of espionage as early as 1666.[3] In 1675 Charles II., after collecting judicial opinions, ordered all coffee-houses to be closed. The order was soon rescinded, and the landlords recovered their licences on promising to use their utmost endeavour to stop seditious talk and the circulation of scandalous papers, books, and libels.

News-Papers.

At the beginning of the reign the two official papers of the Commonwealth, appearing one on Monday, the other on Thursday, were continued. In 1663 Roger l'Estrange was appointed surveyor of the press, with the sole privilege of writing, printing, and publishing all narratives, advertisements, mercuries, intelligencers, diurnals, etc. He carried on the two official papers—the *Public Intelligencer* and *Mercurius Politicus*, changing the names to *Intelligencer* and the *News*. The *Intelligencer* was a single quarto sheet, costing ½d.[4] In his prospectus he expressed his opinion that all newspapers were bad, as making the public "too familiar with the actions and councils of their superiors," but he had decided that, as the public were not in their right wits, he must set aside this opinion, and seek to bring them to reason by judicious guidance. His papers failed, for he spent £500 "in entertaining spies for information," and brought in by the sale

[1] Shadwell's "Virtuoso," 1676, quoted in Cunningham's "Nell Gwynne."
[2] "Character of a Coffee House," Harl. Misc., VI., 465.
[3] "Lives of the Norths," ed. Jessopp, I., 197, 199 note.
[4] Nichols, "Anecdotes," IV., 54–5.

only £400. This failure was due to the defection of Williamson, who, in 1665, persuaded Charles II. to start a new paper under his direction as the only official paper. This was the *Oxford Gazette*, subsequently called the *London Gazette*. L'Estrange complained of the infringement of his privilege, but was powerless against the king. His general surveyorship of the press remained to him, and he licensed an immense number of papers. In 1681 he began his *Observator*, in the form of a dialogue, which served as a model for the papers that succeeded it.[1]

As on the question of newspapers, so in postal arrangements, the plans of the Commonwealth were adopted and reorganised. The Commonwealth, unwilling to lose a source of revenue and a means of political espionage, had jealously restricted private enterprise, and had stopped John Hill's scheme for a penny post between London and York. In 1659 Hill published his

COMPANY AT A COFFEE HOUSE.
"*Coffee House Jests, Refined and Enlarged*," 1688.

"Penny Post, or a Vindication of the Liberty and Birthright of every Englishman in carrying Merchants' and other Men's Letters, against any restraint of Farmers [of the State monopoly], &c."

Postal Services.

But the Act of 1657 was the model followed by Charles II., 1660 (12 Car. II., cap. 35). The Act of 1657 ordered the official charge to be for a "single" letter: 6d. to Ireland, 4d. to Scotland, 3d. beyond a radius of 80 miles from London, and 2d. within that radius. The Act of 1660 amended this by charging 2d. for distances under 80 miles from the place

[1] "Dict. Nat. Biography"; Grant, "History of the Newspaper Press."

where the letter was received, and 3d. beyond that distance, with special rates for Irish, Scotch, and foreign letters. For a "double" letter (one sheet enclosed by another) the charge was double, and for "pacquets" of letters the charge was 1s. 6d. per oz. The Postmaster-General kept the monopoly of providing post-horses, paying 3d. per mile for each horse, and the "guide groat" 4d. for every stage. In 1663 a proclamation was issued forbidding post-office officials to open letters except by warrant of the Secretaries of State. In 1677 the Post-office was farmed by the Duke of York to Lord Arlington for £43,000. There were seventy-five persons then at work in the central office, and 182 local postmasters. The post was calculated to go regularly 120 miles in every twenty-four hours. In 1683 corresponding offices were established in all considerable market towns in connection with the nearest post-stage.

DOCKWRA'S POSTMARKS.
("*The Present State of London*," 1681.)

In 1680 Dockwra and Murray tried to start a private enterprise for a penny post in London, organised frequent collections and deliveries, and erected many district offices, and hundreds of wall-boxes. The Postmaster-General's patent was declared to be infringed. Dockwra was consoled by seeing his scheme taken over by the Government, and he himself received an appointment in the Post-office.[1]

Men's Dress.

In the reign of Charles II., and by his influence, masculine dress was revolutionised for the doublet and long cloak passed out of fashion, and were replaced by garments which have since become the coat and waistcoat. They were then called tunic and vest, or surcoat and waistcoat.[2] The vest reached to the calf of the leg. The surcoat hung loose, and shorter than the vest by six inches.[3] The vest, or waistcoat, was tied into the body by a sash, and the tunic was smartened by a row of gold buttons, never fastened, and by gold edging along the seams, which Pepys procured from his wife's

[1] *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1815, xxxv, p. 309; Lewins, "Her Majesty's Mails"; *Academy*, December 27th, 1879; Wheatley, p. 464; Hyde, "Post in Grant and Farm."

[2] *Cf.* Pepys, October 15th, 1666.

[3] Rugge, *Diurnal*, October 11th, 1666, quoted by Mynors Bright.

A CAVALIER.

best petticoat, "that she had when I married her." Beneath the vest, tight knee-breeches were worn. Boots had gone out of fashion, except for riding, and low shoes, with high heels and buckles, were worn; hats were broad and low, with a bow at the side, and no feathers. The lace "band" died out, and no collar was shown; but in 1664, and at the end of the period, a small lace cravat was worn. It was not unusual for a man to carry a muff, suspended round his neck by a ribbon. Pepys took his wife's old muff into use, and let her buy a new one.

Wigs.

It is said that at the beginning of the reign a modified form of periwig was worn by men anxious to conceal Roundhead principles,[1] for the huge French periwig had not yet come into fashion. August 29th, 1663, Pepys writes: "Had some thoughts, though no great desire or resolution, to wear a periwig yet"; by October 1st he had bought two, at £3 and £2 each. "I have worn neither yet, but will begin next week, God willing." The king and Duke of York had not yet begun, and Pepys's nerve was sorely tried when he first wore his, though, as he found, without reason.[2] As a rule, the pattern worn by Louis XIV. was the favourite—very large, dark, and curly. Powder was not much in vogue, though Dryden speaks of white wigs[3]—white vallancy wigs. The face was always clean shaven. The fop was to be known by his skilful management of his curls in bowing, with the "toss" or "the new French wallow":—

AN OLIVERIAN.

[1] Strickland, "Queens of England," VIII., 351.
[2] Diary, November 8th, 1663.
[3] Prologue, "*Marriage à la Mode.*"

> "Another's diving bow he did adore,
> Which with a shog casts all the hair before,
> Till he with full decorum brings it back,
> And rises with a water-spaniel shake."[1]

"Currying" the wig with a comb was a favourite pastime at the play.

In an advertisement for a truant boy, his coat is described as of sad-coloured cloth, lined with flowered silk, with peach-coloured and green flowers; his waistcoat was of the same silk, and he had on sad-coloured silk stockings and a sad-coloured cloth cap, turned up with sables and laced down the seams with gold braid[2] (1681). In a girl's dress the characteristic feature was her "hanging-sleeves," in a boy's his "long coat"; both are spoken off as peculiar to childhood.

A fop required to dress as a citizen is told to off with his clothes, sword, wig, and hat, to put on a black suit of grogram (coarse woollen cloth), reaching below his knees, a broad-skirted doublet, a girdle round his waist, and a short black coat, "squirted down before with black taffity," a broad-brimmed hat, great twisted hatband with a rose at the end of it, his close-shaven head without the periwig "is slink enough and of the precise cut"[3] (1685). The citizens still wore the plain collar and falling band. Knitted stockings were now worn by the humbler ranks. Pepys notes a shepherd's "wooling knit stockings of two colours mixed."

Women's Dress.

Queen Catherine arrived in England in her Portuguese farthingale, but soon laid it aside for the English dress. She did what she could to keep dresses short, as she loved "mightily" to have the feet seen. When the king determined on the vest and tunic, a coat to the ankles was talked of for women, but trains became the fashion in 1663. Mrs. Stewart's hat was cocked and had a red plume, and hats and feathers were usual. May 14th, 1665, Mrs. Pepys went out in her fashionable "yellow birdseye hood." Straw hats were worn only by country-women. Not much jewellery was worn, pearls alone being fashionable.[4] The buying of

[1] Dryden's Epilogue to Etheredge's *Man of Mode*, 1676.
[2] Malcolm, "Manners," II., 332. [3] Fairholt, quoting the *Factious Citizen*.
[4] Cosmo, p. 400.

A LADY BUYING SHOES.

(*By W. Hollar.*)

dozens of pairs of gloves, perfumed with jasmine and rosecake, in the shops of the New Exchange, was a favourite form of extravagance. Ladies frequently made their own clothes. Mrs. Pepys, then a well-to-do lady, spent Christmas Day, 1668, sitting undressed till ten at night, "altering and lacing of a black petticoat"; Lady Hatton cut out her own "manto"; Dudley North liked to sit unpicking dresses with his wife.

The female citizen wore a grogram gown, little rings upon her forehead, a strait hood, and a small colverteen[1] pinner to make her look saintlike. Pepys saw Lady Castlemain driving through the park in yellow satin and a pinner, probably not looking saintlike, in spite of this adjunct. The wife of a tile-maker, chosen to nurse the Prince of Wales (1688), wore on her arrival at the palace a cloth petticoat and waistcoat, old shoes, and no stockings.[2] The Grand Duke Cosmo observed that Englishwomen of the lowest rank wore good clothes.

Coiffure.

The changes in hair-dressing were rapid. Women wore many forms of perruques, especially those made of fair hair. In 1664 a "taure," or bull-head fringe, was worn, but in most of Lely's portraits the fringe consists only of a few straggling curls fixed at intervals upon the forehead. The "puffs," which Mr. Pepys admired, were a quantity of false curls set out on wires, making the head look very wide. Most of the royal mistresses are painted with their hair or wigs done in childish curls, clustering close to the head and neck.[3]

August 30th, 1660, was the first day Mr. Pepys saw his wife in black patches since they were married. In mourning it was usual to omit the "spots." Masks hiding the whole face were worn in the street and at the play, but, as a rule, only by bad characters. When Pepys saw "civil ladies" in them, he generally enters the fact as noteworthy.

Meals.

Even the most fashionable and dissipated kept very early hours, and began a "debauch" at the one o'clock dinner. It was pre-eminently an age of hospitality, and guests stayed playing cards, drinking tea or coffee or wine, smoking, seeing

[1] Open lace, with square groundwork. [2] Ellis, Second Series, IV., 120.

[3] *See* the portraits in Mrs. Jameson's "Beauties of the Court of Charles II."

conjuring tricks,[1] and so forth, till seven or eight o'clock, going to bed at sunset in summer. The custom of "circulary dinings," of "factious dining cabals,"[2] came into vogue, and little or no business was done in the afternoon. Merchants went to work about six or seven a.m.;[3] Pepys was sometimes at his desk by four or five a.m., and he was no exception.[4]

In spite of these early hours, it is rare to find any mention of breakfast other than a "morning-draft" of ale, with bread

CITIZENS AT A TAVERN, 1680

(*Roxburghe Ballad.*)

and butter[5] and radishes. Dinner was generally at one o'clock. Pepys's dinners, as he gradually made his way in the world, form a series as interesting to us as to him. January 26th, 1659–60, he gave a homely party, and had

"a dish of marrow-bones; a leg of mutton; a loin of veal; a dish of fowl, 3 pullets, and a dozen larks all in a dish; a great tart, a neat's tongue, a dish of anchovies; a dish of prawns and cheese."

A pretty dinner, March 26th, 1662, was served in courses after the new fashion:—

[1] Evelyn's account of Lord Sunderland's parties, Sidney Papers, Blencowe, I., lx. [2] "Lives of the Norths," I., 195. [3] Aubrey, p. 297.

[4] Compare the early hours of Milton and Thoresby.

[5] Aubrey, on Hobbes's breakfast, p. 622.

"A brace of stewed carps, 6 roasted chickens, and a jowle of salmon hot, for the first course; a tanzy,[1] and 2 neats' tongues and cheese, the second."

April 4th, 1665, he gave a really grand dinner:—

"Fricassee of rabbits and chickens, a leg of mutton boiled, 3 carps in a dish, a great dish of a side of lamb, dish of roasted pigeons, dish of 4 lobsters, 3 tarts, a lamprey pie (a most rare pie), a dish of anchovies, good wine of several sorts, and all things mighty noble and to my great content."

He mentions also a leg of beef, bought for 6d. ("worth my money"), a leg of veal, and boiled haunch of venison. Foreigners noted that the English had no soups or bisques,[2] but the broth of boiled meat was often served in humble circles and in the Universities. The town gallant at the French ordinary supped on "*le pottage*," ate his "*bœuf à la mode*," and drank Burgundy.

Drinks. There was an endless variety of drinks. Of Spanish wines the most usual were canary, sack, tent, malaga, muscadel, and sherry; Florence, Burgundy, Navarre, and Rhenish wine, and claret are also often named; the only spirit in common use was brandy, but it was too costly to be popular. Of fancy drinks, metheglin (mead); hypocras, red wine sugared and spiced; and aromatic, a sweet drink; of ales, "mum," brewed with wheat instead of hops; "buttered ale," beer brewed without hops, warmed, and flavoured with sugar and cinnamon, with butter in it; "lamb's wool," ale with the pulp of apples, were favourites. It is said that in 1688 more than twelve millions of barrels of beer were brewed to supply the needs of a population estimated at about five millions.[3] Water was scarcely ever drunk, even by children, who drank small beer from their earliest years.[4] In town, coffee and chocolate were usual, tea somewhat rarer. June 29th, 1667, Pepys enters: "Home, and there find my wife making of tea; a drink which the Potticary tells her is good for her cold and defluxions." In the Norths' household there was a "solemn

[1] A pudding of eggs and cream, flavoured with tansy. [2] Sorbière, p. 62.
[3] Lecky, "History of England in the Eighteenth Century," I., 478.
[4] Locke, "Thoughts Concerning Education": "A child's drink should be only small beer."

service of tea" in the withdrawing-room after dinner.[1] In 1678 a nephew praises his uncle, Mr. Secretary Coventry, because he does not call for tea instead of pipes and bottles after dinner, but rejects that "filthy custom . . . the base

CORONATION FEAST OF JAMES II.
(*F. Sandford, "Coronation of James II.,"* 1687.)

unworthy Indian practice" which no Christian family should admit. Early in the reign Charles II. issued a proclamation against drinking healths, but was himself the first to break it

[1] "Lives of the Norths," ed. Jessopp, I., 320, 418.

in Mulberry Garden.[1] In his reign, it is said, the term "toast" was first introduced. Toast-drinking began when the cloth had been removed.[2]

Many writers state that during the troublous time of the late Civil War it became unusual to take supper, and the poorer middle classes, after the Restoration, took only a hot drink of buttered ale, or a light meal.[3] Those who could afford it made a larger meal, with fish or a joint;[4] undergraduates had roast meat at supper, except on fast-days, Friday, Saturday, and Wednesday, when they had tansy pudding.

Table Manners.

Although it was commonly remarked that Charles II. introduced "a politer way of living," foreign travellers observed a want of "gentility" in English conduct at meals. Sorbière says:

> "They scarce ever make use of forks or ewers, for they wash their hands by dipping them into a bason of water,"

the same serving for all.

Cosmo, describing better company, says:

> "On the English table there are no forks. A beaker was set before each person, and at the end of the meal each dips the end of his napkin therein, and with this they clean their teeth and wash their hands."[5]

Even at a royal feast each guest had only one knife and fork, "tastefully arranged" before him. Pepys summoned a professional man to lay out his napkins in figures of all sorts the day before a dinner party. At table the guests were all seated on chairs without backs,[6] and wore their hats. The politer way of living did not check the habit of constant spitting.[7]

Health Resorts.

Though meals were fewer than in modern times, fashionable people found the waters and restricted diet of Bath and Tunbridge Wells conducive to health. At Bath the arrangements for bathing were not more elaborate than those

[1] Ludlow, "Memoirs," ed. Firth, II., 275. [2] Evelyn, "Character of England."
[3] Jorevin in Grose. Chamberlayne, "State of England," 1673; Misson, "Travels over England," 1688-97.
[4] "Lives of the Norths," III., 318. The Duke of Newcastle took only an egg for supper, and for breakfast a cup of sack with a piece of bread.
[5] Cosmo, "Travels," p. 464. [6] *Ibid.*
[7] *Cf.* Gailhard's "Compleat Gentleman," on spitting at table; and Pepys, January 28, 1660–61.

TUNBRIDGE WELLS, 1688-1722. (*By Jan Kip.*)

for sea-bathing are now. Guidott, writing 1673, says:—"It were to be wished that Queen's Bath and Cross Bath, being small baths, were covered," that the heat may be kept in, and winter bathing made possible. Pumps had lately been erected to take the place of "bucketing." In the Lepers' Bath, "poor people and lepers bathe themselves."[1] King's and Queen's Bath Pepys found full of a mixed sort of company, good and bad, and the Cross only for gentry (1667). He did not find even the Cross bath clean, as the grand company all bathed in the same water. After two hours in the water, he was "carried away wrapped in a sheet, and so in a chair home." Tunbridge Wells was still a country spot. Henrietta Maria and her suite lived on the common in tents when they went to drink the waters. Later, a few dwelling-houses were built, a bowling-green and coffee-houses were started, and, after the visits of Queen Catherine and of the Duke of York with his wife and daughters, a row of shops and houses was built on the Green Bank. In 1687 the houses were burned down and rebuilt as a parade with covered porticoes.

The waters of Epsom were for the humbler citizens who dwelt east of Temple Bar. Pepys found a very common set of people there. Northerners went to the "spaws" at Harrogate, Scarborough, and Buxton.[2]

Travel. There was an increased desire to travel, and some improvement in travelling facilities, but roads remained much as they had been. In the Act of 1663 for the improvement of a part of the great North road, the toll-bar system was first adopted. The justices of the peace were to appoint surveyors and collectors of toll. At Wadesmill in Herts, Caxton in Cambridgeshire, and Stilton in Huntingdonshire, toll was to be taken on horses, carts, coaches, waggons and droves of cattle.

Coaches. Stage-coaching, begun at the end of the Commonwealth, now became usual, in spite of strenuous resistance from those who held that it made men effeminate, would destroy the breed of horses, and deprive thousands of the means of livelihood.[3]

[1] Oliver, "Dissertation on Bath Waters," 1707, p. 25.

[2] Thoresby, "Diary," *passim*. 'Barnet Wells were also popular" (Pepys, August 10th, 1667).

[3] Thoresby, I., 29, note; Harl. Misc., VIII., 561, "Grand Concern of England."

The usual charge was 1s. for every five miles.[1] The Flying Coaches, 1677, made between forty and fifty miles a day, and accomplished in twelve hours the journey from London to Oxford or Cambridge.[2]

A few only of the nobility followed the old fashion, travelling with several coaches, and numbers of men-servants on horseback, to protect the passengers, and to heave the coaches out of the ruts.

In 1677 Reresby, as a justice of the peace, had caused a

THE SCHOALE INN, NORFOLK, BUILT 1655.
(*From a print of* 1740 *in the Norwich Museum.*)

number of highwaymen to be taken and severely punished; the result was that on his next journey to London he came well guarded.[3] The stage-coach made it easy for his wife and family to follow him to town. Private coaches, as a rule, had six horses; in waggons, six were harnessed one before another. In travelling it was usual to take a guide. Pepys paid £1 2s. 6d. to the guide that brought him from Newport Pagnell to Oxford. The way-menders also expected to be feed.

[1] Chamberlayne, "State of England," 1673.
[2] *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1815, p. 310. [3] "Memoirs," p. 159.

Inns.

The quality of inns was generally praised by foreign travellers.[1] At the George Inn, Salisbury, Pepys slept in a silk bed, and had "very good diet, but very dear." With three ladies, riding pillion, he went to Stonehenge, and had to sleep at a rustic inn, where they found the beds "lousy, which made us merry."

Vehicles.

Wicker and spring carriages, and "glass coaches"—namely, coaches with glass windows—were among the novelties of this inventive period; so, too, the calash, or two-wheeled hooded carriage. Sorbière complained that the hackney coach was a disgrace, being no more than a cart or ordinary travelling waggon. The driver rode on the back of one of his horses. Cosmo gives a more favourable account, and says at every corner were decent coaches, in all about eight hundred hackneys in London.

London Streets.

Complaints of the state of London streets were as numerous as they are now. Charles II. feared that if nothing were done Queen Catherine would be unable to reach Whitehall for the floods. Evelyn, July 31st, 1662,

> "sat with the Commissioners about reforming buildings and streets of London, and we ordered the paving of the way from St. James's North, which was a quagmire, and also of the Haymarket about Piqudillo (Piccadilly[2]), and agreed upon instructions to be printed and published for the better keeping the streets clean."

Foot-passengers could rarely cross London Bridge, owing to the amount of traffic always passing that way, and the river was still constantly used; Pepys generally noted the fact when he made his expeditions "by land." He seems to have been naturally nervous, and both by land and water was often in fear. He was only once among those who had the hardihood to "shoot" the rapids of London Bridge in a boat, preferring, as a rule, to land and get in again on the other side. After the Fire he felt uneasy if obliged to be out after dark, and sat in the coach with his sword drawn. This nervousness perhaps was justified, for at a late hour he "could hardly get a coach or a link willing to go through the ruines." After the rebuilding of the City the streets were wider and better paved. The

[1] Sorbière, etc.

[2] Piccadilly was still on the outskirts of the town; Lord Burlington chose the site for his house there, as he was determined to have no building beyond him.

dangers of the streets were due not only to the prevalence of robbery, but to the "hectors," "nickers," or "scowrers," gentlemen who assaulted and outraged passengers for their own amusement, and also to the hired bullies and nose-slitters, who undertook the execution of private acts of vengeance for the king and others.

In the City the Puritan observance of Sunday was fully established, and the Court example there found no imitators. The continued existence of "Fanatiques," as the Puritans were called, is brought more forcibly to mind by the Government's

Puritan Survivals

THE DUKE OF ALBEMARLE'S WATERMEN AND MASTER OF THE BARGE.

(*F. Sandford, "Funeral of the Duke of Albemarle,"* 1670.)

acts of repressive legislation than by their prominence in society. They had quietly become, and were content to remain, "the most substantiall sort of people, and the soberest." Of all the old army not one was to be seen begging in the streets.

Davenant, commenting on the treatment of children in England, held that English parents were peculiarly unkind, bringing up their children to be strangers to them, and at pains to teach them nothing but bashfulness. Locke also, in his treatise on education, indicates that parents were inclined to consider manners as all-important. He urges parents not to beat their children for "unfashionable carriage," and such merely childish ways as they will outgrow. In his opinion, there should rarely be occasion for blows except in cases of

Children.

obstinacy. From his account, it appears that it was not unusual for parents to govern their children by a long code of rules, which the child was expected to learn. The personal experiences of all writers on this subject are apt to colour their statements, and an impartial view is not generally given by contemporary writers. All dwell, however, on the great danger of leaving children much with servants and inferiors, except in their earliest years, when children were, as a rule, put out to nurse with country women.[1]

In the letters of children to parents there are still traces of the formal and frigid relations which had been characteristic of an earlier period. In writing home it was usual to address the father as "Hon^d. Father, Sir," and to conclude with "your dutiful and obedient Son." The mother, too, is "Hon^d. Mother," and this in an age when letter-writers, as a rule, were at pains to find tender terms of endearment.

Education. Young children were put to severe studies at an early age, in the few families where learning was esteemed. Evelyn's little boy, who died at the age of five, could read at two and a half, and before five had "learned out Puerilis," and "made progress in Comenius's Janua." In the correspondence of Locke an account is given of a friend's child who, at five, could perform the plainer problems of the Globe, at six began Latin (with his mother, who began to learn that she might teach him), at nine he understood "geography and chronology and the Copernican system of our Vortex," and all without having one blow for his book. He had seen some dogs dissected, and could give "some little account of the grand traces of anatomy." In a home education, geography, chronology, and the use of the globes were most insisted on.[2] But it was an age in which an unusual value was set on social accomplishments; the dancing-master who taught a little child "to make a leg" received the largest share of the fees for tuition;[3] and, in the desire for "good breeding," the mental education for boys of the upper class tended to become inefficient. As a rule, the younger sons of the aristocracy were taught the elements at home by the

[1] Duchess of Newcastle, "World's Olio," p. 79; "Lives of the Norths," I., 173; III., 4. Harley Papers. Hist. MSS. Com., 1894.

[2] *Cf.* Burnet, "Own Times," II., 245. Quick's Preface to Locke's "Thoughts."

[3] *Cf.* Hatton Correspondence, Camden Society.

chaplain; they were then sent to the grammar-school, or to a public school, and thence to the University. Eldest sons were rarely sent to school or to the University, but travelled with a tutor at the age of sixteen, when their brothers went to college. The comparative advantages of a home and a school education were much debated. Lord Cork sent one of his sons to Eton at the age of eight, after he had learned to speak French and Latin under his French tutor and his chaplain, and this child later in life gave it as his opinion that

THE PLAYGROUND.
(*Komensky*, "*Orbis Sensualium Pictus*," 1689.)

"breeding up of great men's children at home tempts them to nicety, to pride, and idleness, and contributes much more to give them a good opinion of themselves than to deserve it."[1]

Locke, who was unhappy at Westminster under Dr. Busby, says on the other hand:

"How any one's being put into a mixed herd of boys, and there learning to wrangle at trap or rook at span-farthing, fits him for conversation or business, I do not see."

THE SCHOOLROOM
(*Komensky*, "*Orbis Sensualium Pictus*," 1689.)

In his opinion boys brought up at home always had the best manners. The Provost of Eton, however, was esteemed "not

[1] Boyle, "Philaretus."

Schools. only a fine gentleman himself, but very skilled in the art of making others so." At Westminster the fines for talking English in hall or school were rigidly enforced, but Boyle writes that at Eton he forgot most of his Latin conversation and prose in learning grammar. The practice of teaching Latin by talking it was gradually dying out; Locke advocated its revival in his "Thoughts concerning Education." Boyle's studies at Eton were chiefly classical, and he supplemented them by staying at Geneva to learn rhetoric, logic, mathematics, and the doctrine of the spheres. At Westminster, scholars preparing for the University sent in Hebrew and Arabic as well as Latin and Greek themes.[1] Evelyn was astonished at such work from boys of twelve or thirteen, and laments that so few of them retained or ripened their knowledge in later years. Both at Westminster and at Eton there were about 300 boys, some staying to the age of twenty.[2]

Many youths of good family were taught at Mr. Birch's, of Shilton, near Burford. The Earl of Clare, wishing to send his boys there, heard it was full—no chamber to be had without three beds in it.[3] Lord Chancellor Harcourt and Lord Chief Justice Trevor were both taught there. On leaving school, those who did not travel went to an "academy" to learn fencing, riding, and dancing—such as Foubert's fashionable establishment. Those who had to earn a living went to writing-schools to learn good hands and accounts, places "of entire liberty,"[4] or were apprenticed immediately to trades.

Tutors. Knowledge of the world was the chief qualification required in the tutor to the eldest son. It was his duty to teach

> "skill in men and manners; pull off the Mask which their several Callings and Pretences cover them with, and make his Pupil discern what lies at the Bottom under such Appearances."[5]

When tutor and pupil travelled abroad it was usual first to settle in a French provincial town to learn the language and how to enter a room, how to carry the head and hands, and turn the toes out; also dancing, fencing, riding, the use of one stringed instrument—lute, guitar, or violin—and, above

[1] Evelyn, May 13th, 1661.
[2] *Cf.* Locke; Reresby, "Memoirs," June 10th, 1686.
[3] Harley Papers. [4] Jessopp. "Life of Hon. Sir D. North," II., 3
[5] Locke, "Thoughts on Education."

all, the pupil must not fail to get some skill in ancient and modern curiosities, pictures, statues, medals, and such other curious things. Leaving France, Italy should be visited, Germany and the Low Countries if there be time and money, and the youth should finish with a few months in Paris[1]

The Education of Girls.

The desire to learn social accomplishments prevailed even more strongly in determining the course of girls' education. The household duties for which they had formerly been trained were now neglected, and they were sent to Hackney[2] or Chelsea boarding-schools to learn dancing, painting, music, and French, now "almost as fashionable among women of quality as men."

OBERWESEL ON THE RHINE.
(*From an Engraving by W. Hollar.*)

At home they were early provided with the fashionable romances, plays, and poems, and early taken to pay calls with their mothers. A girl of fifteen was as old as a boy of twenty-one.[3] In such a household as Evelyn's the education of the girls was carefully organised. Writing of a favourite daughter at her death, at the age of nineteen, Evelyn notes that

"she had collected and written out many of the most useful and judicious periods of the books she read in a kind of common-place. . . . She had read and digested a considerable deal of history, and of places. The French tongue was as familiar to her as English; she understood Italian. . . . She had an excellent voice, to which she played a thorough-bass on the harpsichord."

[1] Gailhard, "Compleat Gentleman," 1678.

[2] The "matchless Orinda," K. Philips, was in 1639 at Mrs. Salmon's in Hackney (Ballard, "Learned Ladies"). Pepys went to see the Hackney schoolgirls at church. *Cf.* too Malcolm, "Manners of London," I., 414.

[3] Mary Astell, "Defence of the Female Sex," 1696.

Her spelling was correct, her "periods," like her mother's, exact. She had read Homer and some Latin poets, in translations. It was unusual for girls to learn any classics, yet Locke found, as a governess for Lord Shaftesbury's son, a woman who talked Latin, and, it is said, Greek.

JAMES COLVILLE. Scotland.

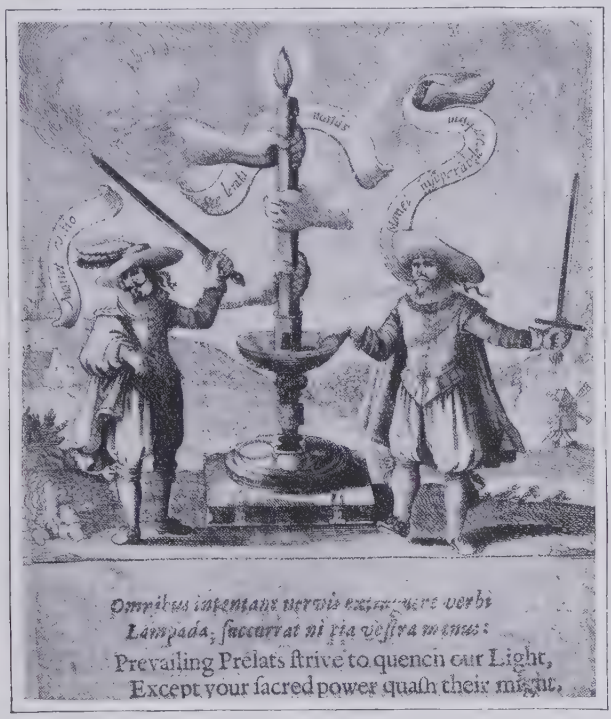
NICOLL, the Scottish Pepys, depicts the festivities that evinced the joy of the citizens of Edinburgh over the return of the king from his travels. A sermon in St. Giles's, honoured by the presence of a loyal corporation in magisterial splendour, opened the proceedings. Thereafter, amid roystering that voiced itself in the clatter of three hundred broken glasses, a gay company drank the healths of the royal brothers at a board laid out on the High Street, and covered with sweets and wine. The spouts of the Cross, whereon heralds were so soon to proclaim the Bloody Acts of the Killing Time, ran copious libations, while a rubicund Bacchus, throned on a wine puncheon amid his attendants, shed glory on the scene to the music of six viols. Up on the Castle Hill the while, lewd fellows of the baser sort made congenial riot over the blazing effigies of Old Noll and Old Nick. Thus opened the reign of the Merry Monarch in Scotland, the meanest, wickedest, and saddest in its annals.

The Restoration.

The Government.

Though England was henceforth to look with imperial indifference on Scottish affairs, the period was of considerable moment in directing that sorely baffled current of political life which flowed on to the Revolution. But the stubborn endurance of an alien Church seemed like rebellion to a people that so lately had had too much of it. The government for which Scotland had to thank the Restoration is thus characterised by Hallam:—"No part of modern history for so long a time can be compared with this for the wickedness of the government. Parliament left far behind the royalist Commons of London." Then was realised the full fruition of Divine Right and arbitrary power — Crown all-powerful, governing classes sordid and brutal, peasants dragooned into poverty or rebellion, judges hopelessly corrupt and callous, clergy possessed by a prelatic propensity to bless the strong arm. For nine years (1672–81) Lauderdale dispensed with even the obsequious

Parliament of the Restoration, which, under the control of Middleton, a drunken trooper and ennobled soldier of fortune, erased from the Statute Book all the Acts of the Usurpation, re-established Episcopacy to the order of a royal letter, and stained the Act of Indemnity with the blood of Argyll, Johnstone, and Guthrie. Moderates like Baillie had hoped now for a re-united Church, but Sharp, the Judas whom they


Omnibus intentant ut vis extinguere verbi
Lampada, ſuccurrat ni pia veſtra manus:
Prevailing Prelats ſtrive to quench our Light,
Except your ſacred power quaſh their might.

SATIRE ON THE RESTORATION OF EPISCOPACY
(*Sutherland Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford.*)

trusted, influenced by the Bishop of London and Dr. Morley, came north with the bribe of the Primacy and the savour of Apostolic Ordination in Westminster, where he passed, with his colleagues, in one day, through the grades of deacon, presbyter, and bishop. "Episcopal ordination," says Kirkton, "is a flower not to be found in a Scottish garden." The Drunken Parliament—or rather Privy Council—at Glasgow,

1662, evicted 350 clergymen who had refused collation from a bishop, the condition of compliance. The men in power, anxious only to fill their pockets, fined, through the Bishops' Dragnet, those absentees from the parish church whom the curates reported. The High Commission Court was restored (1664) with dragoons at its disposal under the brutal Dalzell, Turner, and Bannatyne, and odious satellites like Grierson of Lag and Bruce of Earlshall. The dragoons furnished victims, the boot and the thumbkins effected compliance, and, that failing, Rothes despatched the unfortunates to "glorify God in the Grassmarket." The accused had no indictment, defences, witnesses, or appeal. The fall of Clarendon (p. 475) deprived the prelates of a thick and thin supporter, and led to the First Indulgence of 1669. Lauderdale got from the Parliament of this year authority to raise a militia ready, if need be, to march into England, in which we see the working of the Treaty of Dover. But the fall of the Cabal, first triumph of the Whigs, gave to Scotland the undivided attentions of Lauderdale and his avaricious and detested wife. The Parliament of 1672, daring to oppose him, was dissolved. The opposition tried to enlist the support of the House of Commons, but the king said, "Lauderdale has been guilty of many things against the people of Scotland, but I cannot find he has acted anything contrary to my interests." His system of *Thorough*, carried out by the Highland Host (1678), and the sterner military rule of Dalzell and Claverhouse, at length had the desired effect—rebellion. Significant is it that the year (1679) which gave England Habeas Corpus saw such desperate doings in the north as Sharp's murder, the skirmish of Drumclog, and the massacre of Bothwell Brig. Then followed the hanging of the victims, the penning of survivors in an uncovered corner of Greyfriars' churchyard, and the despatch of the rest as slaves across the seas. The Hillmen boldly disowned the king in the Sanquhar Declaration (1680), but the desperate rally at Airdsmoss, and the death of the leaders, Cameron, Cargill, and Haxton, put an end to open resistance.

Reign of Terror.

The political crisis to which we owe the Exclusion Bill and Dryden's "Absalom and Achitophel," gave Scotland the Duke of York in place of the now aged Lauderdale. The Privy Council, over which he presided, pushing Divine right and

passive obedience to extreme limits, wielded its despotism through tools of the type of Claverhouse, who, as sheriff, harried Galloway, and stained his reputation with the Wigton martyrdom, for which his brother and deputy was directly responsible, and with the shooting of Brown of Priesthill, in which he himself played the chief part. Even the nobles felt the scourge, and passed a strict law of entail restricting forfeitures to the life-rent of the holder of the title. Then came the

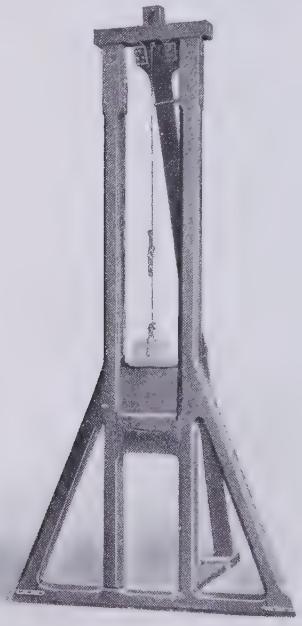
JOHN GRAHAM OF CLAVERHOUSE, BY SIR PETER LELY.

(*By permission of the Most Hon. the Marquis of Bath.*)

Succession and Test Acts, raising the spectre of popery, and driving some of the best men, like Argyll and Stair, into exile. The acutest stage was reached in 1684, when the defiant Declaration of the Hillmen brought on the Bloody Acts. Troopers killed in the open field unarmed men who declined to answer incriminating questions. Fines and estates were divided among the Council, whom we hear of thanking Jeffreys for his offer to arrest the rebellious and disorderly who might flee to England. The Rye House Plot involved many Scottish Whigs,

A Reaction Begins.

and tortures which were illegal in the Tower were transferred to the Council-room in Edinburgh. There the narrow-minded Duke of York, not content with watching, as an interesting experiment, for the last blow of the mallet, the final twist of the screw, that the victim could endure, struck at the natural leaders of the people, only to surround the Prince of Orange, at the Hague, with a devoted Scottish Privy Council. The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685) supplied the capital with a colony of its victims that quickened the dread of popery and arbitrary power. With the news of the landing at Torbay fell the hateful machinery that had done more to retard social progress and lower the tone of national life than all the preceding period of civil conflict. Scotland did much to bring about the Revolution and quicken English life. In the ship that brought the Deliverer came the Scottish exiles as his trusted friends and advisers. No part of the kingdom had endured such sacrifices, or was likely to profit so much by the change as Scotland. The persecuted Presbyterians were the pioneer deliverers of a Stuart-ridden land. They have been called impracticable fanatics. Rather were they the forlorn hope of the Revolution, and every man who values the British Constitution should honour their memory.

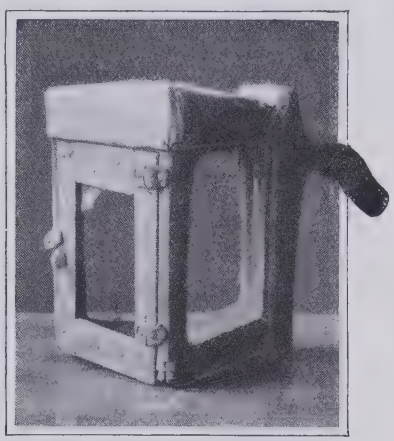


THE MAIDEN.
(*National Museum of Scottish Antiquities, Edinburgh.*)

The distressing times left their mark on rural economy and industrial development. Andrew Symson, for twenty years a king's curate on the shores of the Solway, "by the providence of God and the protection of his sacred majesty's laws," gives a most

interesting "Description" of a district once flourishing, but at that time sorely harried for its stubborn support of the hated Whigs. In his pages we see the peasants clustering in their brown, heath clad clachans, the ox-team toiling over the stony furrows, the *berefay* near the homestead carefully tended for the staple support, the bere or barleymeal, of the household, but sadly crowded with weeds, the poor patches of grey oats out on the *machir* or links by the shore, the lean cows tethered on the green ridges between the cornfields, the ponies dragging the sleds or wheelless carts in harness of wood and withies, while up on the *black* lands of the moss-hags and the heath, bleak shelter of the hunted Hillmen, roam the sheep that furnished the far-famed Galloway wool for the markets of Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Ayr. Down on Solway side by the mouth of the Cree, in the rich alluvial lands of Baldoon, where Sir David Dunbar made the first enclosures in Scotland, the herds of polled Galloways are fattening for the English drovers. With all this are mingled the quaint folk-lore of holy wells and rustic simples, the sketches of the busy fairs of Wigton, and the appreciative description of the rocky dell of the lower Dee, whose beauties inspired Montgomery's "Cherry and the Slae." Thomas Kirke, an Englishman given to satirical exaggeration, speaks of the gentlemen's houses lurking under their plump of trees like the owl in the ivy bush, and the pinfolds of turf grouped round the farmsteads. Much fuller and more intelligent is the account of Morer, a chaplain serving with the troops that the Revolution brought north. Hay, he tells us, could always be bought in the villages, the produce of the damp haugh-lands alongside the swollen rivers. He is astonished at the height at which ploughing is carried on up the hillsides, and thinks that the labour might be better

The Country.



LADY GRIZEL BAILLIE'S LANTERN.
(*National Museum of Scottish Antiquities, Edinburgh.*)

bestowed on draining the low grounds abandoned to coarse grass. Only in some gentlemen's gardens was fruit to be seen—apples, indifferent plums, tolerable cherries, one kind of pear, and a few sorts of small berries. A Morayshire laird, in 1684, buys a variety of apple trees and French pears for his garden, but he lived far outside the disaffected districts. In Nithsdale, Queensberry, a favoured tool of Charles II., began (1679) to build Drumlanrig Castle, and adorned it with woods and gardens, while in Fife the truculent Rothes was decorating Leslie House with terraced gardens and fine trees. The larger towns had some notable features to attract travellers, but these were the work of the preceding age—"a very neat marketplace in Glasgow," says Ray, "scarce the like in England"; an elegant new college (finished in 1656) amid fine gardens, a new town-hall (1626), and square tower; while Edinburgh showed the mural crown of St. Giles's (1648), Holyrood restored after the fire, and Heriot's, a fashionable resort for its bowling-green and gardens. A Fleming, De Bruschi, brought into the city a supply of water by gravitation, and this and other towns were enjoined about the same time to disuse the unbecoming thatch, clean the streets, clear out the crowds of beggars, and provide in taverns better accommodation for strangers. Aberdeen forbade hard riding and driving of herds of horses along the streets, and actually received the petition of a citizen to erect stands about the Cross for keeping the fish on sale from *the filthe of the calsie*, where they had been allowed to lie. Through the time of the Dutch War Aberdeen records are full of alarms and heroic efforts to put the harbour in a state of defence. Privateering was carried on busily, several ports fitting out *cappers* (Fr. *gabare*, a lighter) with much success. It was the burghs of the south and west that received the paternal attentions of the Government, and there the sufferings of

PIPES.

(*National Museum of Scottish Antiquities, Edinburgh.*)

Lanark, Dumfries, Peebles, and Glasgow were grievous in the extreme. There was little or no crime in the ordinary sense, which, however, was rampant on the Highland border, where no dragoons troubled. The Earl of Perth, a devoted partisan of James II., writes (1682): "We are so plagued with thieving here it would pity any heart to see the condition the poor are in."

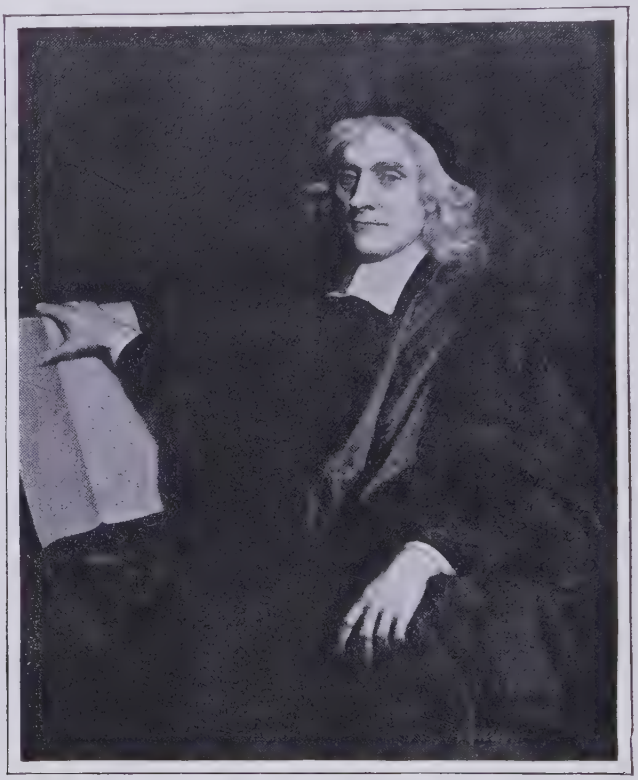
The "Household Book" of Archbishop Sharp (1663–6), at

Photo: The Graphotone Co., Enfield.

DRUMLANRIG CASTLE.

the height of his power, gives an admirable glimpse of high life, for the well-favoured prelate enjoyed two goodly estates near St. Andrews, and travelled in lordly style to and from the capital in the fatal coach which, "by the favour of the king," says Baillie, "he brought from London, at the sides whereof two lakqueys does run." For use at St. Andrews come barrels of butter, a solan goose, raisins and currants, Spanish bisomes and mapis (brooms and towels), and a wainscot table. Dundee supplies carcases of beef for the winter's *mart*. Messengers bring many presents of game, fruit, and trout. **Home Life.**

We learn what was paid to the herd, the footman, and the cook, and the fee to Dr. Pitillo for three days' drugging of the children. The gifts appear of a silver needle for Agnes, a Bible for brother William, along with two golf clubs and four balls. William became Lauderdale's confidential agent,



ARCHBISHOP SHARP, BY SIR PETER LELY.
(*By permission of the Right Hon. the Earl of Southesk.*)

and he too secured goodly estates. Life in Edinburgh is still more interesting. Here we have the dinner *menu*, the servants' table, the dainties of ale and neipis, tobacco and pipes, strawberries with cream and sugar, larks, rabbits (a pair half the price of a sheep), solan goose, shoulder of mutton and capers, two glasses to serve at table, a fee to the woman that carried water to the house, a coach for an airing in the

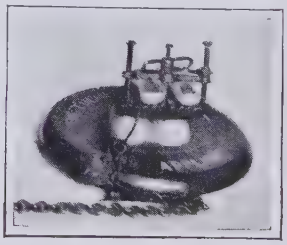
fields. Brief visits to London are even more significant. There are details of travelling, with dinner of collops and eggs, beer and bread on the road, pair of oars to Lambeth, new scabbard to my Lord's sword, orange-flower water, the *menu* of big Sunday dinners and suppers to many nobles, suppers with *pypes to Lauderdale* (My Lord smoked not), ale and bread, sometimes with cheese, night and morning, green fish often, once Lambeth ale. Purchases here are timber combs, horn ones and a case for my Lady, a very few books, and paper (a quire). Soap is never an entry, and only once, after a journey from London, is there a washing bill. The "Household Book" of Cunningham of Craigends, between Paisley and Renfrew, presents a complementary photograph of contemporary manners. The laird is of strong Whig sympathies, but, save for remissions of rent owing to the quartering of soldiers, purchases of persecuting edicts, and contributions for prophet Peden, a prisoner in the Bass, he keeps politics at a safe

GLASGOW AT THE END OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.
(*Sutherland Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford.*)

Social Life.

distance. Many settlements in kind, and allusions to bonds and barter, reveal the scarcity of money. The glimpses of social life show curling with the tenants, cocking with a neighbour, a foot-race at Houston, tennis at Paisley in a hostel which had a garden of razour-berries (currants). A fee to a messenger returning two greyhound whelps on trial, three fish-hooks, and a live partridge brought by a boy are the only entries under sport. Fish is not mentioned, except once a red herring as a dainty. Kindly gifts to the poor and to friends reveal pleasant traits. Cunningham regularly takes his wife and sisters to Edinburgh, and here the entries are full of interest. Bowling, milk and whey in the park, seeing an elephant,[1] two bears and an ape, and rope-dancing, "at a play," "for my picture-drawing," "four ounces soap to raze me with," "ale and berries," "neipis"—these are only a few of the interesting items. Fruit, vegetables, fish, beef, wine play a very small part. Whiskey, often spoken of as the national drink, is never mentioned. Coffee-houses at Edinburgh and Leith are visited, but they were jealously guarded by the Privy Council as places for retailing false news.

[1] The elephant that Cunningham notes was the first seen in Scotland (1680). Law, in his *Memorable Things*, 1638–84, gives a quaint and amusing description of the creature, which Chambers (Domestic Annals) quotes, adding a query to the phrase "lugs like two skats" (?) It is singular that a Scotsman should have a doubt about an expression "ears like two skates," which shows how graphic an artist the old clergyman was.



MODEL OF THUMBSCREWS.

(*Tower of London.*)

AUTHORITIES, 1660–1688.

GENERAL HISTORY.

On the foreign policy, the histories of Ranke and Martin, together with Lefèvre-Pontalis, *John de Witt*, will be found most useful. The domestic history is best treated by Hallam, Gneist, Ranke, and Macaulay. For the social and ecclesiastical history, reference can be made to the writings of Burnet, Pepys, and Evelyn, and the articles in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. *See* also Anson, *Law and Custom of the Constitution;* Dowell, *History of Taxes and Taxation*.

SPECIAL SUBJECTS.

The Church.—Burnet, *History of His Own Times* (ed. Airy); *Walton's Lives;* the sermons and pamphlet literature of the day; Ranke, *History of England;* Clarke, *Thomas Ken;* Perry, *History of the Church of England;* Overton, *Life in the English Church*, 1660–1714.

Law.—The *Statutes at Large* and *State Trials* for the reign of Charles II. and James II.; Blackstone, *Commentaries;* Stephen, *History of the Criminal Law of England;* Hallam, *History of England;* Campbell, *Lives of the Chancellors;* Irving, *Life of Judge Jeffreys.* There is no good history of English law for the seventeenth or eighteenth century.

Army.—Clifford Walton, *History of the British Standing Army;* Murray, *Marlborough's Life and Letters; Lives of Marlborough*, by Cox, Lord Wolseley, and Sir A. Alison; Kane, *System of Camp Discipline;* D'Auvergne, *Campaign in the Spanish Netherlands;* James II.'s *Articles of War.*—*Naval History* as in c. xiv.

Art and Architecture.—*See* list appended to c. xiii.; also Gwilt, *Encyclopædia of Architecture;* for Wren, C. Wren, *Parentalia* [1750]; Taylor, *Towers and Steeples of Wren;* for Lely, article in *Dictionary of National Biography;* for Kneller, Ackermann, *Der Portrait-Maler Sir Godfrey Kneller.*

The Universities.—Gardiner, *History of the Commonwealth and Restoration;* Antony Wood, *Diaries*, etc., ed. A. Clark; Burrows, *Register of the Visitors of the University* (Camden Society); publications of the Oxford Historical Society.

Music.—There are general histories by Dr. Burney (4 vols., 1776–1784), Sir John Hawkins (5 vols., 1776), Dr. Busby (2 vols., 1819), and W. S. Rockstro (1886), and in German by A. W. Ambros (4 vols., 1868). *See* also articles in Grove, *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, and the *Encyclopædia Britannica.*

Theological Literature.—The works of the leading divines of this period were published in the *Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology.* (In most cases the original editions can also be easily procured.) Canon Overton has touched on the facts of their lives in *Life in the English Church.*

Literature.—Gosse, *Eighteenth Century Literature* (from 1660 onward; passages in Macaulay, *History of England*, especially in c. iii.; Macaulay's *Essay* (with those of Lamb, Hazlitt, and Leigh Hunt) *on the Comic Dramatists on the Restoration;* Scott, *Life of Dryden;* Johnson, *Lives of the Poets.*

Agriculture, 1642–1714.—The farming practice and the scientific theories of the day are best studied in such books as the following: *Farming and Account Books of Henry Best of Elmswell in the East Riding of York in* 1641 (Surtees Society, 1857); *Samuel Hartlib his Legacie; or, an Enlargement of the Discourse of Husbandry* (1651); Rev. Joseph Lee, Εὐταξία τοῦ Ἀγροῦ, *or a Vindication of a Regulated Inclosure* (1656); Ad. Speed, *Adam out of Eden* (1659); John Forster, *England's Happiness Increased* (1664; the first treatise on potato culture); John Worlidge, *Systema Agriculturae; the Mystery of Husbandry Discovered* (1669); A. Yarranton, *England's Improvement by Sea and Land* (1677–81); John Houghton, *A Collection of Letters for the Improvement of Husbandry and Trade*, 2 vols. (1681–83); Sir Jonas Moore, *History of the Great Level of the Fennes*

(1685); James Donaldson, *Husbandry Anatomised* (1697). Modern books (besides those mentioned in the list appended to c. xiii.): Prof. John Donaldson, *Agricultural Biography*, 1480–1854 (1854); Chandos Wren Hoskyns, *Short Enquiry into the History of Agriculture* (1849), and *Talpa* (1854); T. E. Scrutton, *Commons and Common Fields* (Cambridge, 1887); article by Earl Cathcart on Jethro Tull in the *Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society* for March, 1891. A good idea of the chief drawbacks of the open-field system can be obtained from some of the maps in Seebohm, *The English Village Community*. *See* also Vol. I. of this work, p. 514; and Vol. II., p. 135.

Manufactures, 1642–1714.—Some of the books mentioned in the list appended to c. xiii. bear also on this period. C. Weiss, *History of the French Protestant Refugees*. J. S. Burn, *History of the French, Walloon and Dutch Refugees;* and W. Cunningham, *Alien Immigrants in England*, give information about the aliens. The story of the iron trade is given fully by H. Scrivenor, *History of the Iron Trade;* Dudley's own book, *Metallum Martis*, is useful and interesting. *Textile Industries:* E. Baines, *History of the Cotton Manufacture;* W. Felkin, *History of Machine-wrought Hosiery*, and J. Bischoff, *History of the Woollen and Worsted Manufactures;* W. Haynes, *Great Britain's Glory* (as to numbers of men employed). On Sir T. Lombe, *see Dictionary of National Biography*. *Salt Trade:* John Collins, *Salt and Fishery;* and John Davies, *An Answer to the Paper Published by the late Patentees of Salt*. *Coal Mining:* A good article in *Old Yorkshire*, 2nd Series, ed. W. Wheater (1885). As to Newcastle coal: W. Gray, *Chorographia;* and Dudley, *Metallum Martis*. *Ceramics:* Ll. Jewitt, *Ceramic Art*. *Glass:* F. Haudicquer de Blancourt, *Art of Glass* (translated from the French, 1699). But to get a complete view of the conditions of trade the reader must refer to the numerous trade pamphlets and single sheets which continued to be issued during this period. A large collection of such tracts is to be found in the British Museum Library (*Tracts relating to Trade*, pressmark 816 m 12, and subsequent volumes). The Statute Book must also be studied. Among works which are statistical, or give a general survey of the country, are: Defoe, *Tour: Britannia Languens* (1680); *Mercator;* the works of C. Davenant; W. Wood, *Survey of Trade;* Lewis Roberts, *Merchants' Map of Commerce;* Sir J. Child, *New Discourse on Trade* (2nd ed. 1694); Sir W. Petty's works (ed. by C. H. Hall, Cambridge University Press, 1900). Interesting articles are also to be found in the earlier volumes of the *Philosophical Transactions*.

Trade and Commerce.—As in c. xiii. Also *The Economic Writings of Sir William Petty*, ed. Hall (Cambridge University Press).

Medicine and Public Health.—Munk, *Roll of the Royal College of Physicians of London;* Robert Willis, *William Harvey* and *Harvey's Works and Life* (Sydenham Society); R. G. Latham, *Sydenham's Works and Life* (Sydenham Society); Longmore, Richard Wiseman. On Epidemics, *see* list appended to c. xiii.

Composition of Society, 1660–1688.—The most valuable contemporary evidence is to be found in Gregory King's *Observations* (1696); Chamberlayne's *State of England* (first pub. 1669); Pepys's and Evelyn's *Diaries*, and the documents in Eden, *State of the Poor*. The volumes of the Camden and other societies, and the reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission often add information, and there are many memoirs and biographies (of Neill, Shaftesbury, etc.). *Modern Books:* Besides the well-known chapter in Macaulay (Vol. I., c. iii.), there are some suggestive reflections in Gneist, *Constitutional History*. Prof. Ashley, *Economic History*, Part II., ch. iv., gives a good account of enclosures. Thorold Rogers's *History of Agriculture and Prices*, Vols. V. and VI., contains a mass of information, but must be used with caution. *See* also Cunningham, *English Industry and Commerce*, Bk. VII.

Social Life: the Court.—Count Gramont, *Memoirs;* Jusserand, *Court of Charles II.;* Jesse, *Court of England;* Strickland, *Queens of England;* Halifax, *Character of Charles II*. *General:* Pepys, *Diary, Life, Journals, Correspondence;* Wheatley, *Samuel Pepys and the World he lived in;* Evelyn, *Diary, Correspondence, Life of Mrs. Godolphin; Lives of the Norths*, ed. Jessopp; Reresby, *Memoirs;* *Diaries* of Teonge and Thoresby; Cunningham, *Nell Gwynne*, ed. Wheatley; *Travels* of

Cosmo III., Sorbière, Jorevin (in Grose's *Antiquarian Repertory*); Dryden, *Works*, ed. Saintsbury; Chamberlayne, *State of England;* Neal, *Puritans;* Gailhard, *Compleat Gentleman;* Aubrey, *Lives of Eminent Men; Sidney Papers*, ed. Blencowe; *Tracts* in the Harleian Miscellany.

Scotland.—(*a*) Contemporary. The Works of Sir John Lauder of Fountainhall; Law, *Memorials*, 1663–84; Sir Robert Sibbald, *Autobiography* (*Analecta Scotica*); Household Book of *Archbishop Sharp*, 1663–66 (Maitland Club); Notices of Dundee and Sharp in *Misc. Scot.;* Bishop Sage, *Memoirs* (Spottiswoode Society); Lauderdale, *Correspondence; Household Book of Cunningham of Craigends*, 1673–80 (Scottish Historical Society); Pat. Walker, *Life of Peden* (Biogr. Presbyt.); Wodrow, *Analecta* (Maitland Club); Symson, *Description of Galloway;* Morer, *Short Account of Scotland;* Kirkton, *History of the Church of Scotland*, 1670–78. (*b*) Modern: Mark Napier, *Memoirs and Letters of Dundee;* Dunbar, *Social Life in Moray;* Fergusson, *Laird of Lag*. *See* also the list appended to c. xiv. Of the books there mentioned, Mackay, *First Viscount Stair;* Omond, *Lives of the Lord Advocates;* and Story, *Life of William Carstares*, are indispensable for the study of the political and ecclesiastical movements of the time.

INSTRUMENTS OF TORTURE.

(*Tower of London.*)

CHAPTER XVI.

THE END OF A DYNASTY. 1689–1714.

ARTHUR HASSALL. The Reign of William III.

THE Revolution of 1688 completed the work of the Long Parliament, and the Bill of Rights confirmed the advantages gained by the nation during the great Rebellion. Though ostensibly the Bill of Rights was a declaratory act, it undeniably asserted several new principles. Henceforth the doctrines of Divine right and passive obedience were things of the past. Without the consent of Parliament no money could be granted, and no army could be kept in time of peace. The right of petition, the right of freedom of debate in Parliament, the necessity of frequent Parliaments, the right of free choice of representatives were henceforward recognised. But the reigns of William and his successor, Anne, only saw the new system inaugurated; it was not till the reigns of the first two Georges that it was firmly established.

The Position of the Crown.

From 1688 the position of the Crown with regard to the Judicature, the Executive, and the Houses of Parliament became gradually defined. A new theory was substituted for that of Divine right, viz. the theory that the king only reigned by the will of the people, and that his ministers were national ministers, answerable not to the king but to the nation, whose representatives they were. But the powers of the Crown were still very considerable, and it was only by slow degrees that means were devised to lessen the possible influence of the king. Pension and Place Bills could do something to check the undue exercise of the royal influence over ministers, but it was not till the cabinet became a recognised part of the constitutional machinery that the real significance of the Revolution of 1688 was

realised. The cabinet system developed gradually under William III. and Anne, triumphed under Walpole, was checked during the first twenty years of George III.'s reign,

Photo: Walker & Cockerell.

WILLIAM III., BY VAN WYCK.

(*National Portrait Gallery.*)

and finally asserted itself during the second ministry of Rockingham (1782), and under the younger Pitt. With its establishment Parliament, as the representative of the nation, finally succeeded, not only in taking to itself the

duties of legislation, but also in assuming the control of the Executive.

The House of Lords.

The triumph of Parliament over the Crown implied the triumph more particularly of the Commons. The House of Lords, after 1688, found its character changed. From being Tory it had become, owing to the policy of James II., distinctly Whig, and remained Whig till it was revolutionised by William Pitt. Though its influence was not destroyed, and though the importance of the Peers in the local government of the country remained as great as ever, its position as a portion of the Legislature was weakened by the advance of the power of the House of Commons, and the defeat of the Peerage Bill left the Upper House, though possessed of valuable attributes as a revising chamber, of less importance than the more popular and more representative assembly of the Commons.

The House of Commons.

The Revolution was essentially the triumph of the Commons, which became the most important element in the Constitution. Freed from all danger of direct attack on the part of the prerogative, the Commons gradually but surely acquired most of the powers which the Constitution still left to the king. His ministers became in reality the ministers of the Commons, and the control of the Executive passed from his hands. Till 1832, however, the House of Commons had one objectionable characteristic. It did not represent the constituencies, nor did the constituencies represent the people. The indirect influence of the Crown was considerable. Pocket and corrupt boroughs were numerous; public opinion could rarely make itself felt within Parliament. The period following the Revolution of 1688 saw the development of constitutional monarchy, the growth of cabinet government, the predominance of aristocratic influences.

William, on his accession, found England in a precarious position. Europe was threatened by the French supremacy, and England had thrown in her lot with the opponents of Louis XIV. Though the Revolution made England the greatest commercial country in Europe, and established her maritime supremacy, it was not for some years that all danger to her independence from the efforts of Louis XIV.

and James II. completely passed away, and left her free to develop her colonies and trade. Till the peace of Ryswick, in 1697, England defended herself in Ireland and on the sea, and, at the same time, opposed Louis XIV. in the Netherlands.

Events of the Reign.

William's first ministry included Danby, now Lord Carmarthen, Nottingham, Godolphin, Halifax and Shrewsbury. The Convention Parliament sat till January, 1690, when it was dissolved. It had turned the Declaration of Rights into the Bill of Rights; it had passed the Mutiny Act and the Toleration Act; it had forced a new Oath of Allegiance on all

SEAL OF WILLIAM III. AND MARY.

office holders, with the result that some 300 clergy threw up their livings, and, headed by Sancroft and Ken, formed the party of the Nonjurors (p. 730). But the growth of rival factions in England, and William's increasing unpopularity, were at first subordinated to pressing questions awaiting solution in Ireland and Scotland. The course of the struggle in the former country will be dealt with in a subsequent section (p. 843 *seq.*). In the latter the Revolution was not carried out without disorder. Though a Convention met, offered the crown to William and Mary, and declared Episcopacy to be abolished, the fanatical Covenanters opposed William in the Lowlands, while Dundee and the Highlanders supported James II. in the North and West. On July 27th, 1689, William's troops were defeated at the Battle of Killiecrankie

by the forces of Dundee, whose death was followed by the dispersion of the Highlanders. The pacification of Scotland was not completed till the massacre of Glencoe (February 13th, 1692), when the Macdonalds, owing to the jealousy of the Whiggish Campbells, were almost extirpated by the royal troops. Meanwhile the war with France was proceeding, on the whole to the advantage of England. On May 13th, 1689, England had declared war against France; in 1690 the allies were defeated at Fleurus, and the English and Dutch fleets at Beachy Head. On May 19th, 1692, English supremacy at sea was successfully asserted by the battle of La Hogue, and all fear of invasion was over.

Though William was defeated at Steinkirk in 1692, and at Landen in 1693, he took Namur in 1695, and in 1697 the war ended with the peace of Ryswick, Louis XIV. consenting to recognise William as King of England.

Domestic Difficulties.

During these years William's difficulties at home had increased. Plots had been formed to assassinate him, factions were rife in Parliament, and in December, 1694, his wife died. In spite of party struggles, the Whigs had managed to pass a Triennial Act, and Montague, Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1694, had succeeded in carrying out valuable schemes. A new loan was negotiated; the Bank of England was established. In 1695 he reorganised the currency, and placed the credit of England on a sound basis (p. 719, *seq.*) In 1696 William, by Sunderland's advice, threw himself unreservedly into the hands of the Whigs, and the first united Ministry was formed, led by Somers, Montague, Russell, and Wharton. The execution of Sir John Fenwick for treason, on January 28th, 1697, was followed by the close of the session and the complete triumph of the Whigs, who regarded the Treaty of Ryswick with natural satisfaction.

Party Struggles.

The rest of William's reign was signalised by the formation, in 1698, of the new East India Company (p. 729), the most signal instance of Montague's skill as a financier, by quarrels with Parliament, and by unsuccessful attempts to preserve the peace of Europe. A Tory reaction set in in the year 1698, and the Commons not only insisted on the dismissal of the Dutch guards, but quarrelled with the Upper House, where the feeling was decidedly Whig. In the new Parliament,

which met on November 14th, 1699, the opposition to the king was stronger than ever in the Commons. A Resumption Act was passed on April 10th, 1700, vesting all the forfeited Irish land in the hands of trustees, and a complete breach with the Upper House was only averted by William's adroitness. In December, 1700, William appointed a new Ministry, including Godolphin and Rochester, and in February, 1701, Parliament met. The Succession Act was passed, and Lords Rutland, Somers, Orford, and Montague, now Earl of

CELEBRATION OF THE CAPTURE OF NAMUR, 1695.
(*From a contemporary satirical print.*)

Halifax, were impeached; the relations between the two Houses became again strained, and an open breach was only averted by a prorogation (July). But the Commons had provoked a reaction, which showed itself in the Kentish Petition, while the aggressive acts of Louis XIV., and especially his acknowledgment of the Pretender, in September, roused English patriotism, and threw the nation on the side of William. Parliament was dissolved, and a new one met on December 31st, which attacked the Pretender, and supported the Act of Succession. On March 8th, 1701, William died.

THE KENTISH PETITIONERS, BY R. WHITE. 1701.

(*Sutherland Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford.*)

The Reign of Anne.

During the early years of her reign Anne was influenced by the Duke of Marlborough, who, like William, had much difficulty in carrying out a national policy and in forming a ministry including the best men of both parties.

At Home.

The domestic history of the reign is mainly concerned with the Union with Scotland and with Parliamentary struggles. The events leading to the Union are described in another

Photo: Walker & Cockerell.

ANNE AND HER SON WILLIAM IN 1695, BY MICHAEL DAHL.

(*National Portrait Gallery.*)

section. The Parliamentary and ministerial history of the reign falls into three distinct periods—(1) from 1701 to 1708, (2) from 1708 to 1710, and (3) from 1710 to 1714.

The years 1701–1708 cover a period which saw the English arms triumphant, the Union with Scotland effected, and the gradual transference of power from the Tories to the Whigs. At first Marlborough, created a duke and captain-general, and Godolphin united with Nottingham and Rochester, who

were both extreme Tories, and disapproved of the war with France, which had been declared on May 4th, 1702. In 1703 Rochester was dismissed, and the following year Nottingham, Jersey, and Seymour met the same fate, Marlborough and Godolphin finding it necessary to rely more and more on the Whigs for an active prosecution of the war. The places of the dismissed ministers were taken by moderate Tories, such as Harley, Mansel, the Earl of Kent and St. John, while, in 1706, Sunderland, Marlborough's son-in-law and a Whig, was made Secretary of State. In spite of the gradual substitution of a Whig for a Tory Government, the feeling in the House of Commons was, in 1704, strongly opposed to Marlborough and the Whig policy. A Bill to render occasional conformity illegal had already twice passed the Commons, only to be thrown out on each occasion by the Lords; disputes between the two Houses over the Aylesbury Election Petition afforded another instance of the obstinacy and wrongheadedness of the Commons; while the attitude of the Lower House towards the victor of Blenheim, and its persistency in passing the Bill against occasional conformity a third time in 1704, attests the height to which party passion had risen. The nation gradually realised the impossible position of the Tories, and Marlborough, taking advantage of the change in public opinion, effected further alterations in his ministry, which, in 1707, had become a thoroughly composite one.

SIDNEY, EARL OF GODOLPHIN.
(*Engraving by Houbraken, Hope Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford.*)

But the intrigues of Harley and the dissatisfaction of the Whigs forced upon Marlborough the conviction that a mixed ministry was impossible. Harley and his colleagues resigned on February 11th, 1708, and the famous Whig Administration

was formed, which included, besides Marlborough, Godolphin, and Sunderland, Orford, Walpole, Boyle, and Smith. From 1708 to 1710 this united Whig ministry was in power. But though successful abroad, its position was undermined from,

JOHN CHURCHILL, DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.
(From a Mezzotint by J. Smith, after Sir G. Kneller.)

the first. The queen disliked it, the nation was weary of the war and distrusted Marlborough; the conviction that party necessities alone prevented the conclusion of peace became general, while Harley, aided by Mrs. Masham, was unceasing in his endeavours to undermine the influence of the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough with the queen. It only required the prosecution of Sacheverell to bring about the overthrow of a ministry which had long been tottering. Thus fell, in 1710, an administration which ranks among the most celebrated in English history.

From 1710 to 1714 the Tories were in power, with Harley at their head. Like Marlborough, Harley would have preferred a composite ministry, but the days of mixed administrations

were over. To conclude peace, and to be prepared with a policy in the event of the queen's death, were the aims of Harley and St. John. The Peace of Utrecht was signed in 1713, and, till the death of Anne, St. John devoted himself unwearyingly to the difficult task of placing the Tory party in such a strong position as to enable it to dictate terms either to James Edward or to the Elector of Hanover. But the Tory party was mainly composed of men who were determined not to accept James Edward unless he abjured his religion, while Bolingbroke's suspected connection with the extreme Jacobite section of the Tories rendered him an object of distrust to the majority of his own party.

The Tories were, therefore, undecided and disorganised when Anne died, while the Whigs, firmly resolved to uphold the Revolution settlement, had no doubts, and were well led. Till Anne's death the energy of Bolingbroke effected much. In 1711 the Occasional Conformity Act was passed; in the same year twelve Tory peers were created to get rid of the Whig majority in the Upper House; in 1714 the Schism Act was passed. By these Acts Bolingbroke had hoped to gain the clergy and the Tory party. But Harley's vacillation ruined all his plans, and Anne's death took place before his preparations were completed. On July 27th, 1714, Bolingbroke's quarrel with Harley ended in the dismissal of the latter from the office of Lord Treasurer. On July 30th Anne had a fit of apoplexy; on August 1st she died. Shrewsbury threw in his lot with the Whig Privy Councillors, Argyle and Somerset, and received from the dying queen the White Staff of the Treasurer. The three dukes, supported by the Whig party, took the necessary steps for securing the Protestant succession, while the Tory party divided, and, undecided, did nothing. The Act of Settlement was carried out, and George, Elector of Hanover, was proclaimed king.

England and Europe.

THE Revolution of 1688 had restored England to that position in Europe which she held under Cromwell. The principal object of William III. was to restore the balance of power which, during the reigns of Charles II. and James II., had been endangered, owing to the rise and supremacy of the

French monarchy. From 1688 the weight of England's influence was thrown into the scale against Louis XIV. Defeated in Ireland and on the sea, the French more than held their own in Italy, on the Rhine, and in the Spanish Netherlands. The continuance of the Turkish war hampered the emperor, and the defection of the Duke of Savoy was a blow to the Grand Alliance. But France was becoming exhausted, and the death of Charles II. of Spain might take place at any moment. To the astonishment of Europe, Louis

THE MAGIC LANTERN.
(*A satire on the action of Charles II. of Spain.*)

XIV. agreed, in 1697, to the Treaty of Ryswick, restored to England and Holland all conquests made since 1678, recognised William as King of England, and agreed to give back Lorraine to its duke. No sooner was the peace made than the Spanish question came to the front. Since the Treaty of the Pyrenees, in 1659, the decline of Spain had not a little contributed to the prominent position taken by France, and the partition of the Spanish dominions on Charles II.'s death was regarded as certain. As Charles had no children, the Dauphin of France claimed the Spanish inheritance, but his claim was contested by the Emperor, and by the Electoral Prince of Bavaria.

The possibility of the union of France and Spain under

one king alarmed William III., while, to avoid the danger to the European balance, the Dauphin gave up his claims to his younger son, Philip of Anjou, and William III. persuaded Holland and France to agree to the First Partition Treaty, which was secretly signed in October, 1698. Austria was to have the Milanese, France the two Sicilies, the Tuscan ports, Finale and Guipuzcoa; and the Electoral Prince Spain, the Indies, and the Spanish Netherlands. The death of the Electoral Prince shortly afterwards necessitated a Second

A COALITION AGAINST LOUIS XIV.
(*From a contemporary print by Romeyn de Hooghe.*)

Partition Treaty, which was signed in 1700. By this treaty the Archduke Charles, the second son of the emperor, was to lose Spain, the Indies, and the Spanish Netherlands, while France, in addition to her former share, was to receive the Milanese. News of these two treaties reached both the Spaniards and the English people. The former were furious at the very idea of a partition of their empire; the latter were much opposed to the establishment of French influence in Italy, which would prove detrimental to English trade in the Mediterranean and the Levant. In the autumn of 1700 Charles II. died, leaving all his dominions to the Duke of

Anjou. After some hesitation, Louis XIV. accepted the will, and William III.'s carefully designed plans fell to the ground.

Louis XIV.'s Mistakes.

The English nation, however, showed no apprehension at the accession of Philip of Anjou to the Spanish throne, and William III. and the Dutch recognised him as king. Had Louis XIV. carefully abstained from all acts of aggression, no war need have taken place, for, without England and the Dutch, the emperor's opposition would have been of little avail. But Louis mistook the English temper, and was con-

A KING AND HIS MAKER.

(*By Romeyn de Hooghe. A Dutch satire on the proclamation of Philip of Anjou.*)

vinced that war was inevitable. He refused to demand from Philip a renunciation of his rights to the French crown; he gave no assurances that English commerce would not suffer from the combined French and Spanish fleets; he seized the Dutch Barrier, thus threatening the independence of Holland, and, in September, 1701, on the death of James II., he recognised James Edward as King of England. This last act on the part of Louis roused the English nation; it was generally recognised that steps must be taken to restore the Dutch Barrier, to secure English trade, to obtain from Philip of Spain the renunciation of his claims to the French throne,

and generally to check the aggressions of the French king. William III. had already laid the foundations of the Grand Alliance in a treaty with the Emperor and Holland (September, 1701). No sooner was this Alliance formed than William III. died (March, 1702), leaving Marlborough to carry on his work.

War of the Spanish Succession.

Under Marlborough the French were attacked on their north-east frontier, in the Spanish Peninsula, and at sea. The campaign of 1702 was indecisive. The English and Dutch held the Rhine and the Meuse, and an English expedition destroyed a Spanish treasure fleet in Vigo Bay. Savoy and Portugal joined the Grand Alliance, and France, harassed by the rebellion in the Cevennes, seemed unable to cope with her numerous enemies. But, in 1703, the French held their own. Though Villars, owing to the conduct of the Elector of Bavaria, failed in his attempt to reach Vienna, Marlborough, in consequence of the slowness of the Dutch, was only able to take Bonn, Huy, and Limburg. In 1704, with eight armies on foot, Louis proposed to subdue Portugal and Savoy, and to advance to Vienna. The English victory of Blenheim (August 13th, 1704; p. 747) saved Vienna and overthrew Bavaria. In 1705, while Peterborough won some unexpected successes in Spain, Marlborough gained no striking victory. In 1706 the decisive battles of Ramillies and Turin were won by the allies, and the French were driven entirely out of the Spanish Netherlands and Italy, while Madrid was occupied for a short time by the allied forces. So far the war had been fought in concurrence with the terms of the Grand Alliance, but in the autumn of 1707 the Whigs passed a resolution that "no peace can be honourable or safe to her Majesty or her allies, if Spain and the West Indies be suffered to continue in the power of the house of Bourbon."

The Tories, already furious at the determination of Marlborough to continue William III.'s policy, and to carry on the war chiefly in Flanders, recognised that the above resolution was at variance with the declared aims of England on entering the war. From this time they oppose the continuance of hostilities, and hamper Marlborough and his colleagues on every possible occasion. The year 1707 saw the defeat of the allies at Almanza (April 25th), and Stolhofen (May 22nd), and their failure before Toulon (August 20th).

THE PEACE OF UTRECHT, FROM A DUTCH STANDPOINT.

(From a contemporary Dutch print.)

The year 1708 witnessed a threatened invasion of Scotland in the interest of the Pretender, the defeat of the French at Oudenarde (July 11th), and the capture of Lille (December 9th). France being exhausted, Louis offered, at the Hague, terms of peace. But the demands of the allies were so extravagant that the war continued, and on September 11th Marlborough won the battle of Malplaquet, and captured Mons. Fresh attempts to make peace at Gertruydenberg failed through the opposition of the emperor and Savoy, and the war continued. The allies were defeated at Brihuega and at Villa Viciosa, and the conquest of Spain was seen to be a task well-nigh impossible.

The Peace of Utrecht.

The Tories under Harley and St. John were now in office, and anxious to end the war. Secret peace negotiations with France were opened in 1711; Marlborough was superseded by Ormond in 1712, and on March 31st, 1713, the Peace of Utrecht was signed. Owing to his haste in bringing the war to a close, Bolingbroke was not sufficiently careful to safeguard the interest of our allies the Catalans. By the Peace of Utrecht the objects at which England had aimed at the outset of the war were attained. Her trading interests were secured and extended; she obtained Newfoundland,[1] Nova Scotia, and Hudson's Bay Territory, Gibraltar and Minorca. She also received the exclusive right of supplying the Spanish and American colonies with negro slaves. The Dutch Barrier was again set up; the Spanish Netherlands were handed over to Austria, and Philip V. agreed to renounce his claims to the French Crown.

The foreign policy of William III. and Anne had proved successful. England's commercial interests had been very considerably enhanced, and her maritime supremacy established. The domination of France in Europe had been checked, and the way cleared for developments in America and India.

A. L. SMITH. Taxation and Finance.

LARGE revenues had been settled on James II. for life. The question immediately arose at the Revolution, did this mean for his reign? It was felt that here was a great opportunity to avoid the grave political error committed in 1660 and in

[1 Subject to the French fishing rights on the north and west coast, the conditions of which still (1903) check the development of the colony.]

1685, and to recover in a real and effectual form the Parliamentary control of the purse. After much legal subtlety had been expended in argument, a compromise was arrived at. The hereditary revenue was to comprise, besides the crown lands and other ancient rights, the "hereditary excise," granted in 1660 in lieu of feudal dues and purveyance. It would amount in 1689 to £600,000, according to Davenant. To this, Parliament now added a further grant of the rest

THE CUSTOM HOUSE, 1698.
(*Misson's "Mémoires*, 1698.")

of the excise, worth £300,000 a year, to William and Mary for their life. This total constituted the Civil List. Out of it came not only the personal expenses of the king and queen and their household, but also the pay of a great number of state officials. The Customs, however, now worth about £600,000 a year, were only granted for four years. In spite of the plausible consolation offered that the king could borrow on such a grant more easily than if it were given for life, William was naturally offended. He had declared that a king without an adequate hereditary revenue

The Civil List.

Parliamentary Control of Expenditure.

was a mere pageant; and he now complained that he was being treated with less generosity than had been shown to James II. But he had to put up with it. The time had come for an advance in the power of the House of Commons. By the control thus guaranteed over the expenditure, the House secured a thorough control over the whole administration. Every year a very full estimate was submitted to them for Army, Navy, and Ordnance. The great principle of appropriation of supply to each head of expenditure, a principle sacrificed in 1685, was reasserted and maintained. The House became the training school of great financiers, like Montague, and in later times, Walpole and Pitt. The mighty wars of the eighteenth century became possible. Now that Parliament was taken into confidence upon foreign policy, that foreign policy attained a magnitude and a boldness hitherto undreamed of. The despatches of Bonnet to the Prussian Court are evidence how keen were the debates on all fiscal questions, and the debates show much acuteness and practical wisdom, if also many windy projects. The land-tax alone took two weeks of the time of the House. There is constant sharp inquiry into the cost of the army and the fleet. There was also a fierce struggle between various interests (lords and merchants, western counties against northern, Whigs and Tories) as to the rival modes of raising supplies, whether it should be by fresh excises, or by a revival of the hearth-tax, or by a continuation of the land-tax. At one time it was proposed to seize and melt down all silver plate in private hands; at another, to sell a great part of Irish soil as conquered land. A great noble declared he had paid over £4,000 in one year to the land-tax; it would be better to live in Turkey. The London merchants said, if England could not keep up war and trade simultaneously, it would be better to sue at once for peace from the French king. Through all these discussions the Commons' control over the Crown grew more and more marked. The great duel between the Germanic powers and France hung upon the support given by England in men, in ships, above all in money. English support could only be got on the Commons' own terms; and their terms were the free criticism of foreign policy and its methods, the strict appropriation of supply, and

a drastic audit of accounts. It is this which gives to the history of taxation, in the years immediately following the Revolution, its peculiar importance and its interest. It was taxation which completed the work of the Revolution, and made it, not a mere change of dynasty, nor a religious victory alone, but a new epoch in constitutional history, the advent of real popular government.

In 1688 tunnage and poundage had produced £600,000;

THE TOWER OF LONDON, WITH SHIPS DISCHARGING.
(*Misson's "Mémoires*, 1698.")

the extra customs then granted, £415,000; and the excise, £620,000. A report to the Commons, in March, 1689, stated the revenue, clear of expenses of collection, at £1,200,000. But William had already promised to repeal the hearth-tax, that "badge of slavery" collected by the hated "chimney-men." This would mean an annual loss of £170,000. Moreover, there was an estimate of more than a million for the year on the Army and Navy. It was agreed that the ordinary revenue should stand at £1,200,000. There would thus every year arise the same problem, how to provide for the extraordinary

Revenue and Expenditure.

expenditure of at least a million and a half; or, as it actually turned out to be, a total expenditure of over four millions.

Taxes on Commodities.

In the days of Elizabeth a Venetian envoy had noticed, as a singular happiness of the English, that they had no taxes on the necessaries of life. But things were different now. Salt, already taxed at 3d. a gallon, was, by additions in 1694 and 1698, raised to 10d., and its cost increased to many times its real value. But this, it was argued, was a blow at French trade. More than £100,000 was raised on sugar. But, at any rate, Spanish and Dutch competition was crushed, it might be said. The duties on wine were heavy; but they were no less than £33 a tun heavier on French wines than on Portuguese and Spanish (after the Methuen Treaty, 1703); and patriots were to console themselves with this reflection, for the fact that the only French wines drunk in England were either smuggled or were "manufactured under the streets of London." A similar policy kept out French brandy and colonial rum, and concentrated English drunkenness upon home-made gin. Tea (pp. 445, 670) was as yet hardly more than a fashionable drink. In 1689, instead of an excise duty on the beverage, a customs duty was imposed of 5s. a pound on the imported leaf. This drove the whole trade into smuggling, and, in 1692, the duty was reduced to 1s. But the needs of war were absolute; and the duty by 1711 had risen to over 5s. again. It was thanks to the smugglers that the use of tea steadily increased, for very little of it paid duty. The same was said of tobacco. Coffee (p. 445) had been introduced before tea; the name of "coffee-room" in inns dates from this period; but the heavy taxes on it prevented its ever having a fair chance to become a rival to tea in popularity. The excessive duties on pepper and other spices led to dangerous adulterations. Those on raisins and currants trebled the price, and checked the growing taste for them. Large sums came from the beer duties, but the attempts to increase these led to home brewing; and a malt-tax (1697) caused substitutes of all kinds to be employed instead of malt and hops. The price of beer and ale nearly doubled within the period. The use of coal was increasing rapidly, Davenant tells us; and the duty on sea-borne coal was raised in 1695, and in Anne's reign was 3s. 4d. a ton. The general effect of

the war was thus a constant addition to the burdens on all articles that would bear addition, and on many that would not; a prohibitory tariff on French goods; and an uneasy experimentation with new taxes. To tax home manufactures was thought to savour of the days of the Commonwealth; and the merchants' assent had to be purchased by protective rates against foreign competition. A tax on glass, 1695, had to be repealed in 1699; it had almost killed the trade. Taxes on soap and on candles were bitterly opposed; but had to be endured in 1709. These and the tax on leather were (as Adam Smith says) burdens on necessaries of life, and such taxes go

CITIZENS AT A COFFEE HOUSE.
(*From a Broadside of* 1677.)

to increase the price of labour. But the War of the Spanish Succession added to the list paper, linen, calicoes, and silks. The war created also a debt of £37,000,000, and a yearly charge, for interest and management, of some three millions. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at, that while an average of labourers' wages between 1583–1642 gives 4s. 2¾d. a week, an average for the years 1693 to 1702 gives 9s. 2¼d. a week, or that the bare cost of rough work, such as digging, rose at least fifty per cent. within the seventeenth century. The idea of stamp duties was borrowed from Holland in 1697 to make up for poll-taxes, which were so unpopular that they were not levied after 1698. Their yield was about £600,000; not half what it should have been, according to Davenant. Though

The Cost of Living.

professing to be proportioned to rank and income, they allowed the well-to-do to escape, as the instance in Pepys's "Diary" shows, when the assessors took 12s. from him, he having been prepared to pay them £10, but thinking himself "not bound to discover" that fact.

The Land and Property Tax.

The land and property tax was intended to fall on income from personalty as well as from land. It was a legacy of the Commonwealth, at which time it had been suggested by the example of the Dutch. Paid in monthly instalments, it produced a million and a half; but, like its predecessor, the Tudor subsidy, it showed an irresistible tendency to decline, dropping by as much as £260,000 in four years. The reasons were the same as in the case of the subsidy; namely, that personalty managed to evade the tax, that the assessors persisted in following the old rate-books, that notorious favour was shown to whole districts (*e.g.* the West and the North), and that, as was said in Parliament, fraud was open and unashamed. These abuses were partly remedied by the measure passed in 1697, which fixed at a certain sum, nearly £2,000,000, the total to be produced by the tax, so that each district had its own amount to raise. It was also declared that the first charge was to be on personalty, the residue only to fall on land. This last clause proved inoperative; personalty proved too elusive, as it has always proved (at any rate, until the Death Duties of 1894). The tax became once more a mere land-tax, and every year a smaller fraction of the real wealth of the community. Bonnet makes the reflection that "an exact assessment, and an assessment without fraud, are conditions that will never be realised in England." There were some other attempts to saddle personal property with its due share of the burden; such were the attempted tax on hackney coaches, and the window-tax (an improved form of the old hearth-money), which was imposed to meet the special expenses of the re-coinage. As soon as peace came with the Treaty of Utrecht, the land-tax was lowered for the time to 2s.

Defects of the Fiscal System.

On the whole it must be admitted that the fiscal system of the time is full of defects. There was the tradition of official perquisites carried to a demoralising extent. There was much half-authorised peculation. The highest officials did what no official now would dare to attempt; and they did openly what

would now be regarded as shameful. Treasurers kept and speculated in their balances. Ministers took presents from trading companies. Commissioners bargained with State contractors, that they should receive a percentage on business done. Corruption and embezzlement were the stock charges against everyone in authority. Even apart from such abuses, the system itself was bad. The Exchequer was always in arrears, always forestalling the forthcoming taxes, and paying ruinous rates of interest for its loans, and paying dear by heavy discounts on its bonds for its past breaches of public faith. The nation made "a great noise over taxes" (Burnet), and was "always in alarm that it was falling into arrears"; and yet it neglected its opportunities of retrenchment and extinction of debt; for in the years of peace, 1698–1701, the debt still accumulated at the rate of a million a year. But it is certainly not for the men of this generation upon such an accusation to cast the first stone at the English financiers of the age of Queen Anne.

Needs of the State.

It was soon evident that the war must turn ultimately upon finance—upon the question which country could produce the last pistole, as King Louis put it. England had not yet been driven to such disastrous pressure as France. But even in England an annual war charge of over £4,000,000 was as great a strain as the country could bear; or, at least, as great as it thought it could bear. The excess must be met by loans. But capital remembered Charles II. (p. 623), and was shy of lending to the State. Government promises to pay were only worth half their face value. This meant that it could only borrow at sixteen per cent. It was necessary to interpose some other security between the lenders and their State debtor.

The National Debt.

The two methods for providing such a security were the National Debt and a National Bank. By the end of 1692 it was found that the annual revenue was falling short of the annual charges by something like a million a year. Such a sum could not, it was thought, be raised by taxation, already fourfold what it had been before the war. It was decided to raise a million by loan, in the form of life annuities. The interest was to be ten per cent. till 1700, and thereafter seven per cent.; it was to be met by an increased beer-duty, the proceeds of which were to form a separate "fund," devoted to

this sole object. Thus began the "funded" debt. This, no doubt, was not the alarming burden on industry or the political danger that it was deemed to be by contemporaries. It brought evils indeed in its train: "exorbitant premiums, high interest, and large discount," "which" (says Davenant, writing in 1698) "have been the bane of our affairs for these five years." Sometimes, too, the pernicious element of a lottery was introduced, or the money was raised by short annuities, granted on the most wasteful terms. But it was the floating unfunded debt which injured the credit of Government, and was ruinously expensive in the end, representing as it did a mass of unpaid obligations, Navy and Army deficits, and Exchequer tallies, and only realisable in the market at a discount of forty per cent. Nine millions of this floating debt were bought up by the South Sea Company in 1711, the first of the ventures in this direction which led to its disastrous collapse in 1720.

At the time, the formation of a funded debt was hailed with relief. Within five weeks after the first sitting of Somers' and Montague's Committee their scheme was accepted and made law. Parliament's only fear was whether the City would subscribe readily. The first idea of seven per cent. and a tontine seeming insufficient, it was raised to eight per cent., and a proposal was even made to offer as much as fourteen per cent. But by March 6th only £70,000 had been subscribed, and half of that by foreign investors. By December, however, the loan was almost fully taken up.

The Bank of England.

The establishment of a State Bank was an idea borrowed, like so many ideas at this time, in commerce, in shipping, in government, from the Dutch. Such an institution had been proposed in 1658, and often in Charles II.'s reign. In some respects, however, it was more like the ancient Bank of St. George, at Genoa, than the Bank of Amsterdam. Paterson (p. 837) had suggested his scheme as early as 1691. In 1694 the House of Commons, "hard pressed for money in time," and having already raised what they could by a great lottery loan, now sanctioned a loan of £1,200,000 on security of an increase in the customs. Subscribers to the loan were to be formed into a company. If the loan was repaid, the company was to be dissolved. Meantime this company, the Bank of England, was allowed to undertake private business. There was a fierce

opposition to the whole scheme. It was argued in the Lords that money would no longer be forthcoming for commercial ventures nor for mortgages on land; that a Bank would be a ready instrument of despotism; it would be an *imperium in imperio*, and so on.

But its general convenience was irresistible. Parliament

JOHN, LORD SOMERS, BY SIMON DUBOIS.

(By permission of W. Clinton Baker, Esq., Bayfordbury, Herts.)

and the king got £1,200,000 at once, and only paid for it £100,000 within the year. The tax-payer no longer had to devise new tricks to evade ever-new imposts. The capitalists, instead of lending to traders at six per cent., got a secure investment which returned them eight per cent. But the new institution had wider results. The commercial classes were bound over to the new dynasty. The growth of capital,

moreover, was stimulated. On the other hand, the Government found this new Fortunatus' purse a dangerous temptation; and much of the wealth thus drawn from the people's savings was merely wasted.

An acute observer saw, in the readiness with which the new stock was subscribed for, all within eleven days, another proof, such as the eagerness to invest in the East Indian trade had already given him, of "the abundance which continues to reign in this happy country." He also remarks that the shares were so arranged (£10,000 each, of which no one could take more than three) that it would be largely taken up by members of the Commons House; forty of whom had indeed, at an earlier stage, offered to lend the money themselves, if the interest was raised to ten per cent. He gives also a vivid account of the opposition in the Lords, "overcome by majority of votes rather than by reasoning." The matter was certainly pressing, for it was already May, and the king was waiting to embark for the campaign.

Opposition of the Goldsmiths.

The Bank has also to meet the bitter opposition of the goldsmiths, who accepted money on deposit, but gave no interest unless the deposit was for a year. They made a formal complaint to the Commons that they were being ruined. But men called to mind that the goldsmiths had long made unfair profits, or, when they found themselves losing, had gone bankrupt; and that they were universally credited with clipping the coin. Some restrictions, however, were laid upon the Bank. It was not to make advances to Government without the sanction of Parliament. It was to deal only in bills of exchange, bullion, and forfeited pledges. In spite of these restraints, there was great jealousy felt about the Bank. Besides ruining its rivals, it was charged with the design of engrossing all trade, acquiring all the land of the country, raising the rate of interest, enabling the ministry to defy the Constitution. The real grievances against it were its immediate and great success (its stock at once rose to a premium), and the fact that its directors combined the hateful characteristics of being at once Whigs, Nonconformists, and City men. The Tory landed interest and many of the constitutionalist Whigs made common cause with the rival projectors and the private banking interest. The combination produced the "Land Bank" scheme.

This alone would have sufficed to make the year 1696 a critical time for the Bank of England. But the crisis was made still more acute by the infatuation with which the Government took up this precious scheme, and by the coincidence of the momentous measure of the new coinage. The Land Bank, according to its prospectus, was "to increase the value of land, benefit trade, supply the king with money, exempt the nobility and gentry from taxes, enrich all subjects, and make this the Paradise of the world." Did not a square mile of land as truly constitute wealth as a bag of gold? Could not, on this wealth, bank-notes be issued to its full value? Did it not, therefore, logically follow that a man whose estate was worth

The "Land Bank."

THE OLD GROCERS' HALL.
(*The predecessor of the present Bank of England.*)

£100 a year could have, by a payment of £10 per annum, bills of credit for £2,000 for his immediate use, and retain £90 per annum clear to himself? Again, if an estate of £100 a year, granted out for twenty years, be worth £2,000, must not a grant of the estate for 100 years be worth £10,000, and could not a Land Bank, on security of such a pledge, at once issue notes for £10,000? What were they but purblind enviers of the landed interest who pretended to point out two fallacies in this chain of demonstration? For there were critics who wrote to remind Chamberlayne, firstly, that the fee-simple itself of land was only worth twenty years' purchase, so that to say a grant of 100 years was worth five times as much as a grant of twenty years "was to say, in other words, that a hundred equals five times infinity"; secondly, that credit

is only credit so long as it actually is, or is believed to be, readily convertible into cash, a condition not satisfied in the case of land. "Those who reasoned thus were refuted by being told they were usurers; and it should seem that a large number of country gentlemen thought the refutation complete." This class, in fact, thinking dimly that land was as good as money, believed they could, in the homely proverb, both eat their cake and have it; they were tempted by the promise that they should borrow at three-and-a-half per cent.; and they were ready for any scheme that would cut out the moneyed men. It is significant that the Committee of the Commons (December, 1693) reported favourably on this wondrous scheme; and that, when it was revived (February, 1696), it was ordered "that none concerned in the Bank of England should have anything to do with it." The Government must have been literally at their wits' end for money when they expected to get from the Land Bank £2,564,000 as a loan, on the easy terms of seven per cent. interest. Three months were given to the projectors to collect their subscriptions; the king himself subscribed £5,000; but when the final date came, the further sum produced by this mountain in labour proved to be a miserable £2,100. Had the thing been anything but a ludicrous failure, it must have had tragical results. Even as it was, its mischievous effects did not end at this farcical conclusion. The real and immediate sufferer was the Bank of England, whose shares had at once dropped from 107 to 83, and from whom the Government had to get a loan of £340,000 to fill the void caused by the Land Bank's collapse.

Early Struggles of the Bank of England.

But it was also during these very months of May and June that the currency crisis was at its height, and it was at this juncture that the goldsmiths chose to make a treacherous attack. They bought up the paper of the Bank, and on the very day (May 4th) on which the clipped money ceased to be current, and before the new milled money could be issued, they made a sudden run on the Bank for cash. The Bank boldly treated this as a malicious conspiracy and refused to pay, while it pledged itself to pay in cash at once fifteen per cent. of all *bonâ fide* applications and the residue as fast as the Mint could issue the new coin. The court of proprietors convened by the directors agreed to postpone their own

dividends, and to borrow of their own subscribers at twenty per cent. for six months. The Treasury, alarmed at last for its ally, promised to supply the Bank with the new money at the rate of £60,000 a week, and protected the notes of the Bank from being protested. The Bank also got aid from Amsterdam, and from the London Companies. By mid-July its paper was only at a discount of eight per cent.; it had been at sixteen.

The Currency Crisis.

On the 15th August, at another court of the proprietors the Bank was asked to make a fresh loan to the king of £200,000, at a time when their own debts and dividends were alike unpaid. Without the money his army, he wrote, would break up. Portland, a large holder of Bank stock, and

THE RE-COINAGE: HALF-CROWN OF WILLIAM III., 1701.
(*Actual size.*)

Montague, the pillar of the Whig and moneyed interest, exerted their utmost influence. Shrewsbury wrote to the king, "If this fails, God knows what can be done." The court decided unanimously to lend the money they felt the kingdom itself was at stake. But the worst of the pressure was already over. About a million of the new money had been coined before 15th July; and on the 18th July Montague had begun the issue of his Exchequer Bills. He had inserted in the Land Bank Act, as the price of his support, a clause empowering him to do this. They were notes, for various sums down to £5, payable on demand at the Exchequer, with interest at three per cent. per annum. They could be tendered for taxes; they were eagerly received in the country, and they did much to supply a circulating medium and to restore general con-

Exchequer Bills.

The Reform of the Coinage.

fidence. By September the currency famine was over; since June the Mint had been coining at the rate of £80,000 a week, under the energy and skill of Montague and Sir Isaac Newton. The whole re-coinage occupied four years, and for some four months (1696, May to August, inclusive) there had been a severe strain; money almost vanished, "even for daily provisions in the market" (Evelyn). But it had become an absolutely necessary step (p. 768). For the English currency at the close of the seventeenth century contained coins that went back to the Plantagenets, coins of the debased issues of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., coins of all countries in the world. It was a sort of vast numismatic exhibition, to illustrate Gresham's law, that bad money drives out good. The newer-milled money, issued since 1663, was, of course, hoarded or exported; and the more of it issued, the higher was the premium on clipping the old light money, the "hammered" coins, or melting down and exporting, by smuggling, the new broad pieces. The profession of clipper and coiner was so lucrative, and the offence was so lightly regarded, that even the savage laws which made it high treason, punishable in men by hanging, drawing, and quartering, in women by burning, failed to check it. The Act of 1695 betrays in its extravagant impracticability a consciousness of the futility of this penal legislation. Yet it has been, with good reason, doubted "if all the misery inflicted in a quarter of a century by bad kings, bad ministers, bad Parliaments, and bad judges was equal to the misery caused in a single year by bad crowns and bad shillings." And it is well known that the miseries of a bad currency fall heaviest of all on the poorest classes. Even this, however, might have failed to rouse statesmen. But during these years of war, when millions sterling had yearly to pass through the Amsterdam Bank to pay the English armies, the effect of a degraded home currency was that England, for every £100 transmitted through Amsterdam, had to pay £120 to £130. This was intolerable; Montague was determined to kill or cure, as he said. Of the various schemes

Its Cost.

proposed, he adopted one which was just, but which Locke thought perilous, that the State should bear the loss incurred. It was expected to be over a million. It actually was £2,703,164. Another danger was only averted by eleven votes.

This was the proposal that the shilling should be only ninepence, but still be called a shilling. The law fixed the price of corn, the price of labour, the price of Bank stock, the price of guinea pieces; could it not fix the price of the silver shilling as it pleased? Even when the Mint was issuing the new money at the rate of £120,000 a week, the expectation of this "ninepenny law" caused the new coins to be hoarded, till Parliament expressly pledged itself (October, 1696) that a shilling should be a shilling, as before. The last difficulties were removed when the Commons assigned the new window-tax to meet the expenses of renovating the currency. The whole result was hardly won, but was a result for which no price would have been too dear.

MEDAL COMMEMORATING THE FOUNDING OF THE HAND-IN-HAND FIRE INSURANCE COMPANY.

The Bank and the Government.

Unless the rancorousness of party spirit in William's reign be borne in mind, and the close connection between finance and politics at the time, it would seem impossible to explain the pressure put upon the Bank by the Government, after all the Bank had done. It had helped to carry out the re-coinage, its loans had retrieved ministers' miscalculations, its credit had saved the armies from disbanding. It had been imperilled by the State-aided rivalry of the Land Bank, and had then generously responded when called upon to extricate the State from the consequences of this mischievous folly. Now the Bank was told it must enormously increase its capital, and take over, as its new stock, the depreciated Exchequer tallies to the amount of two-and-a-half millions. The Bank held out for better terms; and at last agreed to provide £1,200,000 of new

capital from among the proprietors and lend this to Government, on condition that their Charter monopoly was confirmed to 1711, and it was made felony to forge Bank bills. The Peace of Ryswick (September 20, 1697) began a long period of quiet prosperity for the Bank; and before the next war began, in 1702, Bank stock, once at 51, had risen to 148½. In its future course, the Bank was still apt not sufficiently to strengthen its cash credit, and was still in danger from a panic, as in 1708, 1711, 1714. But its services were, that it strengthened the sense of the vital importance of public integrity; it increased immensely the potentiality of the currency and the growth of credit; it gave a vast impulse to our foreign trade.

The New East India Company.

The last of the many important commercial institutions of this time, all of them connected with the name of Montague, was the foundation of the new English East India Company. It is often said the Company had done better to aim at trade, not territory. But the directors said, in 1689, "revenue is our care as much as trade; 'tis that must maintain our force when twenty accidents may interrupt our trade; 'tis that must make us a nation in India; without that we are but as a great number of interlopers." Without a strong Company in England they could have done nothing. The Company's jealousy of interlopers had a reasonable side. Many of them were mere pirates; and all depended on that protection which the Company secured for England's name in the East.

But in England their privileged position was regarded with growing dislike. They enhanced arbitrarily, it was said, the price of muslins, silks, saltpetre, spices. They injured the old English clothing trade by their calicoes and silks. Their dividends were twenty per cent. Their stock sold at more than three hundred premium. This stock was in the hands of a few merchant princes; and, about 1684, Sir Josiah Child, the autocrat of the Company, had become a Tory. Hence, at the Revolution, a furious Whig assault began. The "New Company" was formed, and petitioned for a Charter. A grave constitutional question was involved in this. Did not the Monopoly Act (1623) and the principles of the Revolution preclude the Crown from confiding to any individual the privilege of trading, and, if so, was not the East India Charter invalid unless confirmed by Act of Parliament? On the other

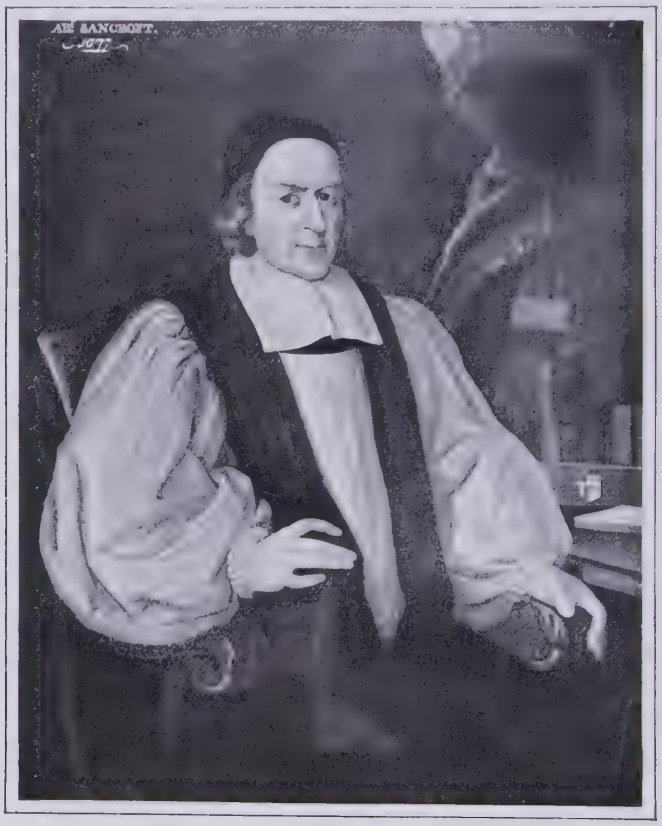
hand, that Charter contained a clause promising it should not be revoked without three years' notice. In 1693 the House declared that all Englishmen had equal right to trade to the East Indies, unless prohibited by Act of Parliament. But it is one thing to pass a resolution of the House of Commons, and quite another thing to get it practically acted on in India, as was seen so lately as 1894. The Company's charter had just been renewed for twenty-one years, subject to the condition it should export yearly £150,000 of English goods. The House discovered, in 1695, that £90,000 had been spent in bribes to effect this; Trevor, the Speaker, was disgraced, and the Duke of Leeds was impeached, and only saved by the flight of the chief witness. Still the Tories fought hard for their financial stronghold. An Act was passed, in 1698, forming the "interlopers" into a new "English East India Company," on a capital of £2,000,000, lent to Government at eight per cent., the old Company having vainly offered £700,000 at four per cent. The whole of the new capital was subscribed in a few hours. The old Company's stock fell to 33¼; in 1693 it had been 158. The old Company itself took shares in the new, so as to be able, when its own Charter should expire, in 1701, still to carry on the warfare. At last an arbitration was effected; the two were formed into the "United Company," in 1708. There had been several principles at stake in this long duel. The new Company were victorious in their demand for Parliamentary interference. But in the other two points the old Company's principles finally triumphed. These were that it should be a joint stock concern, and not a mere "regulated Company" of competing individuals; and that the East Indian trade must have the power to exclude interlopers.

W. H. HUTTON. The Divided Church.

THE Revolution, as has been shown, was very largely a Church movement. That is, it was the attacks upon ecclesiastical freeholds, combined with the determined stand made against arbitrary power, that gave the enthusiasm and the stability to the resistance, and the most effective encouragement to the attempt of William of Orange. The highest dignitaries of the Church joined in the invitation to the Protestant hero to save them from the Romanist king.

Effect of the Revolution.

But no sooner was the Revolution effected, the king deposed, and William and Mary called to the throne by a new and Parliamentary title, than the Church was threatened with little less than disruption. Those of the clergy who had held, in however modified a form, the doctrine of the Divine right of



ARCHBISHOP SANCROFT, BY P. LENS.
(*By permission of his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury.*)

kings, or who had taught the obligation of Christianity to a passive obedience even to the most distasteful commands of the sovereign, held with an especial force that they were bound by the oaths that they had taken to James II. Could the State dispense from such an obligation? Was not such a claim an exercise of the dispensing power in a new and more

objectionable form? Men of sensitive conscience and scrupulous honour felt the difficulty the more keenly when they had been opposed to the exiled monarch. The result was a secession, followed by a sharp division between those who remained in the Church's ministry.

The Nonjurors unquestionably were among the most dis-

BISHOP KEN.
(*By permission of the Most Hon. the Marquis of Bath.*)

tinguished sons of the Church. The archbishop himself from the first decided to refuse the oaths to the new Government. His refusal was felt to be a strong argument against the lawfulness of the Act, even by those, such as Bishop Nicholson, who disagreed with his conclusion. He was a man of unquestionable sincerity and honour, who had led the Church, and suffered with the bishops, in resistance to James II. "What I have done I have done in the integrity of my heart," was a noble

The Nonjurors: Sancroft.

motto, true of his whole life. He had been deprived of his fellowship under the Commonwealth for refusing to take the Engagement; he was now, at the end of a long life, to be deprived of the highest dignity in the kingdom. "The young man who went forth from Cambridge because he could not break his oath of allegiance to the father, and the old man who went forth from Lambeth because he could not break his oath of allegiance to the son, were one and the same from first to last."[1] As an archbishop, he was at once active, tolerant, pious, and bold. He followed in the steps of Laud without any of his personal failings. It was on the great Caroline Primate, in fact, that his theology was modelled, and he ever professed a special devotion to his memory.

Ken.

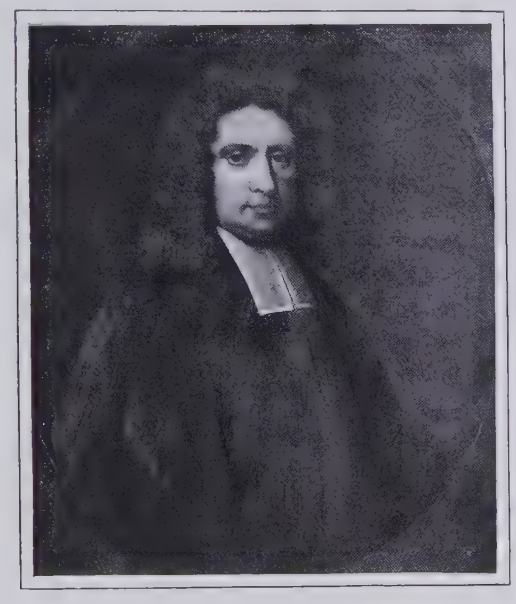
If Sancroft was respected Ken was beloved. Charles II. had a keen eye and a genuine respect for a good man. To him the Church owes the promotion of both Ken and Sancroft; and both, while they did not hesitate to rebuke his brother to his face, yet stood firm to their loyalty in the time of trial. Ken retired from his see to the house of a pious layman of his diocese—Lord Weymouth—and at Longleat he resided for the rest of his life. Thence he looked out upon the political changes with calmness, and there he was sought as a guide by hundreds of those who reverenced and loved his saintly soul. Dryden, there seems to be little doubt, took him as his model for the good parson, and few who have written the English history of his time have failed to give him high rank among the national worthies.

Other Nonjuring Bishops.

Ken was reluctant to join the Nonjurors, and the Government was equally reluctant to deprive him of his see; but when he saw that honourable compromise was impossible he retired, and the difficulty of finding a successor showed the estimation in which he was held. Seven other bishops refused the oath—Turner of Ely, Frampton of Gloucester, Lloyd of Norwich, White of Peterborough, Thomas of Worcester, Cartwright of Chester, and Lake of Chichester. Of the nine nonjuring bishops six had been among the famous Seven Bishops: only Trelawney, who then withstood James, now accepted his successor. Peter Mews of Winchester, who professed that he

[1] Overton, "English Church, 1660–1714," p. 56 (I am greatly indebted to this most valuable book). *Cf.* also the same author's "Nonjurors."

was only prevented by sickness from joining the protesting bishops, now accepted the change of Government, though he opposed the new administration till his death. Ken, before his death, resigned his rights, and Frampton,[1] his friend, was of the same mind. The breach, however, was long in healing. Over four hundred beneficed clergy were deprived. Among them were men of great eminence for learning and piety. John Kettlewell was esteemed "saintlike" by the saintly Ken; his



GEORGE HICKES.

(By permission of the Rev. the Rector, Lincoln College, Oxford.)

sincerity and devotion gave a strength to the clergy who joined him, of which they were greatly in need. Such men as these were a grievous loss.

Hickes and other Clergy.

George Hickes, Dean of Worcester, was little less eminent, but very much less peaceable. He retired from his post under protest, and he never ceased to protest all the rest of his life. He had, soon after the Restoration, engaged in controversy on the Divine right of kings, and had upheld, with Sherlock,

[1] Of him Pepys wrote that "he preached most like an apostle that he ever heard man."

the doctrine of passive obedience. Sherlock before long took the oaths, but Hickes remained firm in his allegiance to King James. Like so many of the Nonjurors, Hickes was a considerable antiquary, and what time he could spare from vigorous controversial writing he devoted to the profitable study of Teutonic and Scandinavian remains. With him were men such as Charles Leslie, the famous controversialist, of whom alone among the Nonjurors Dr. Johnson allowed that he could reason; Jeremy Collier, whom Macaulay considers "in parts the first man among them"; Dodwell the learned, and Fitzwilliam the good. Among laymen, besides Dodwell, there were Robert Nelson, most devout son of the Church, and Francis Cherry of Shottisbrooke, a country gentleman of cultivated tastes.

History of the Nonjuring Body.

The later history of the secession is full of interest. From the first it contained two parties, the moderate section, who, like Sherlock within a year, or Robert Nelson towards the close of his life, conformed to the new political *régime*, and staunch Jacobites, by whom the body was continued. Bishops Lloyd and Turner continued the episcopal succession; on November 24th, 1694, Dr. Hickes and Mr. Wagstaffe (once Chancellor of Lichfield) were consecrated to the titular sees of Thetford and Ipswich. In 1713 Hickes, with two Scots bishops, consecrated Jeremy Collier, Nathaniel Spinkes, and Samuel Hawes; and in 1716 two more bishops were consecrated. As the body came to have less and less relation to the religious life of the whole nation, it became more literary, antiquarian, and theological. It was for long engaged in negotiation with the Eastern Church, and without arriving at any practical conclusion yet was instrumental in largely widening the mental horizon of English churchmen and in promoting a more intelligent study of primitive antiquity, and of early liturgical and doctrinal forms. For a time the Nonjurors split into two

A Split.

bodies. The *Usagers* sought to revive the First Prayer-Book of Edward VI. with its accompanying usage. These were a body of learned and intelligent students who had looked behind the English Reformation more clearly than most English churchmen had been inclined to do of recent times. The *non-usagers* held to the Prayer-Book of 1662, and were in little but their political position divided from the mass of conforming churchmen. They were reinstated in 1733; but the later history of

the body was one of constant secession and disunion. Oxford long continued to be the home of Nonjurors and Jacobites. Men like Antony Wood and Thomas Hearne and Richard Rawlinson[1] (the last of whom was eventually consecrated bishop on March 25th, 1728) rendered great services to the study of

Oxford and the Nonjurors.

ARCHBISHOP TENISON, BY SIMON DUBOIS.
(*By permission of his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury.*)

antiquity. The strife in the University ran very high. The famous Black Book of the Proctors, the awful, secret manuscript record of University delinquencies, shows page by page during this period the extraordinary bitterness of public feeling; and the voluminous remains of the three great antiquaries are

[1] The donor of the Rawlinson MSS. to the Bodleian.

equally expressive. It was but very gradually that the bitter sentiment died away. Jacobitism flourished in Oxford at least as long as there was a descendant of James II. living, and the Nonjurors hardly died out before the end of the eighteenth century. Their secession had intensified a separation which would probably in any case have taken place.

William III. and the Church.

William III. cared nothing for the English Church, but, immoral though he was in life, he had a great delight in Protestantism. The Toleration Act was but a poor expression of his sympathy; he was eager to promote comprehension. The Primates whom he appointed were men who could sympathise with this aim. Tillotson, whose fame in his own time is extraordinary to us who read his works to-day, and Tenison, an inferior copy of his predecessor, were in this sense, if not in others, Latitudinarians. Almost as prominent as Tillotson, and much more pushing, was the irrepressible Gilbert Burnet, William's most enthusiastic panegyrist, and certainly the most active of the new Whig bishops. Burnet was a partisan from start to finish. His "History of his own Times" sees the age, as is but natural, solely through his own spectacles. It has no sympathy for unreasoning loyalty, for chivalrous defence of ancient beliefs, for opposition to Revolution principles.

Whig Prelates.

He may be taken not unfairly as a type of the prelates who were now to shape the fortunes of the English Church. Many of them were good men enough, but they were Whigs as much as they were Churchmen. The new Government took the Church under its charge, and seemed determined to treat it as a department of the State. Royal injunctions were issued to direct the bishops, and doctrinal instructions emanated from the same source. Convocation was not allowed to meet, as the expression of its feeling was feared. On this last point a lengthy controversy arose, conducted at first in the press and eventually in Convocation itself, when, in 1701, it was at length allowed to sit.

Schools and Charities.

While the Court was more and more alienated from the majority of Churchmen, a spirit of revival was being fostered by the work of several religious laymen. It was the age of the foundation of the great religious societies. These and the societies for the suppression of vice and the reformation of manners must be left to a subsequent section (p. 808). Again,

it was the age of the foundation of Charity Schools, the number of which soon increased enormously. Much was also done to found public and parochial libraries. That works such as these should have been undertaken in an age of such moral laxity shows at least that the Church, though shorn of her privileges, was not forgetful of her duties to the nation.

The Church under Anne.

With the reign of Anne the prospects of the Church brightened unmistakably. The queen, like her sister, was pious by disposition. She had no William III. to control her, and she had some conception of the meaning of orthodoxy. Yet,

MEDAL COMMEMORATING QUEEN ANNE'S BOUNTY.

while in one aspect of her policy, she showed appreciation of the constitutional claims of the National Church, she was never able to free herself from the vice of the age—the passion to control religion by constant and deliberate action of the State. William III. had placed all patronage in the hands of a junta of Whig bishops: Anne at once dissolved the Commission. But when she turned to see how she could herself actively benefit the Church, she could only resort to Erastian[1] measures. The Occasional Conformity Bill and the Schism Act were, in different ways, illustrations of the mistaken policy by which the State endeavoured to benefit the Church at the expense of its best interests. Parliament may, however, be excused when it is remembered that the Church's own Council was, during the period 1702–10, in constant strife, and that it may

[1 *I.e.*, implying the absolute supremacy of the State over the Church.]

well have appeared to the lay mind that it was impossible to get any practical work from the jangling controversialists and competing antiquaries, the Whig bishops and the High Church clergy. The queen's own action in surrendering the first fruits and tenths, which had been enjoyed by every sovereign since Mary I., was just as well as generous; and she richly merited the thanks of the poor clergy for her Bounty. So the first years of her reign passed, and, under royal patronage and not uninfluenced by the Toryism of the day, the Church became stronger than she had been since the days of Henry VIII. The culminating point was the prosecution of Sacheverell.

SACHEVERELL: SATIRE ON THE HIGH CHURCH PARTY.

The Sacheverell Case.

The ministry, irritated by the licence of Tory preachers, and still more by their popularity, was rash enough to encourage the Commons to impeach a popular orator.[1] Sacheverell, a Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, was charged with asserting that the means used to bring about the Revolution had been odious and unjustifiable, with condemning the legal toleration of Dissenters, with asserting that the Church was in danger, and with maliciously declaring that the queen's ministers were false brethren and traitors to the Constitution in Church and State. The absurdity of the prosecution was not seen till the sentence of three years' suspension from preaching was delivered. The result had only been to produce an interesting series of constitutional arguments (to which Burke referred with telling

[1] *See* Perry's "Student's History of the Church of England," vol. ii., p. 574.

effect in his "Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs"), and to cause an enormous Tory majority to be returned to the new Parliament of 1710. The Church and Parliament.

At this date the Church appeared to dictate to the Parliament. It was only in appearance. Parliament still controlled the Church, and there is no yoke more galling to the clerical order than the authority of laymen even more ecclesiastical than themselves. The Parliament-men were Churchmen, but they were Tories first; and the condition of the Church was one of slavery, though the chains might be made of gold. Convocation was given enlarged power, but, while it confined

SACHEVERELL: SATIRE ON THE LOW CHURCH PARTY.

itself to theology and the censure of unsound opinion, Parliament, in 1713, weighted the Church with the Schism Act. It prepared to build fifty new churches in London, but it emphasised and embittered the differences between the Establishment and the Dissenters.

The reign of Anne tended inevitably to foster among the clergy a keen interest in politics and an attachment to the Tory party, and thus to prepare for the severe checks which, from every side, they experienced under the first two sovereigns of the House of Hanover.

Such was the political position of the Church. The social condition of the clergy was probably worse, rather than better, since the days of Charles II. But at least it may be said that they stood together, and that the people, at least politically, The Clergy.

followed them. Dr. Sacheverell was received with enthusiasm by his brethren, and for a time he was unquestionably the most popular man in England. But a change was soon to occur. It might be said, with some truth, that while under Anne the Church was political and popular, under George I. she tended to become unpopular and irreligious.

G. LE M. GRETTON. The Army.

With the accession of William and Mary commences the real history of the British Army. Before this time the armed forces of the Crown were tolerated rather than sanctioned by Parliament, and regarded and governed more as the retainers of the King than as the servants of the country. The Mutiny Act of 1689 recognised and defined the position of the Standing Army; the wars of William and Mary and of Anne gave it constant occupation—occupation so constant, indeed, that the supply of volunteer recruits frequently ran short, and to fill up the ranks recourse was had to strange expedients. In theory our Regular Army has always been raised by voluntary enlistment; in practice, under both William and Anne, military service was rendered obligatory upon certain classes, while pressing and kidnapping were winked at, though even then undoubtedly illegal. In 1694 a levy of 3,000 men was made upon Scotland, and two years later an Act was passed by the Scotch Parliament for the annual levy of 1,000 men. They were to be provided by the sheriffs, who were directed to seize, in the first place, "all idle, loose, and vagabond persons, who have not wife or children," and secondly, "young fencible men, not having wife or children, who earn their living by daily wages or termly hire." In England, also, strong pressure was brought to bear on classes whom we should now consider most undesirable recruits. Insolvent debtors, under a provision granted for their relief, secured their discharge from gaol if they enlisted: and imprisoned criminals were granted pardon if they took the shilling. "All able-bodied men who had no lawful calling or occupation, or visible means of subsistence," were compelled to serve in the Army.[1] Needless to say, the insolvent debtors, the criminals, and the tramps, though only forced to spend three years in the ranks, deserted at every

[1] 7 & 8 William III., c. 12, Mutiny Act of 1702.

opportunity. In one of Marlborough's early campaigns, no fewer than 1,500 of these worthies were at one time found skulking among the towns of the Netherlands.

Maladministration.

That the supply of desirable volunteer recruits should have become insufficient is not surprising, for the shortcomings of our early military system made the Army intensely unpopular as a profession throughout the classes from whom the rank and file are usually obtained. The officers cheated the soldiers; the civilian officials cheated the officers. The pay, only eightpence a day for an infantryman, was often in arrears for months and even years. On active service the inefficiency of the Commissariat entailed terrible hardships on the troops; the men could not march, because they had no shoes; they died from want of medicines; they starved from want of food. At the conclusion of a war the troops were disbanded by tens of thousands, and turned loose upon the country, lucky if they had not been cheated out of the few days' pay grudgingly allowed by the Government to enable them to make their way back to their homes. There were no pensions; the only provision for old and disabled soldiers was at Chelsea Hospital, where veterans of more than twenty years' service, and men who had lost a limb in action, were received for the remainder of their lives.

Schomberg's Irish Campaign.

A grim illustration of the ineptitude of the War Office is afforded by Schomberg's Irish campaign of 1689. The French invasion found us, as usual, unprepared. James landed at Kinsale in March, but it was not until August that 10,000 troops could be collected to reinforce the gallant men who were so heroically holding Ulster for the Protestant king. Our best battalions were in Holland with Marlborough; so fresh regiments were hurriedly raised and as hurriedly drilled. Many corps consisted of recruits so raw that they were not even in uniform; in others, not twenty men in each company could be trusted to fire their muskets—indeed, in some there were not even muskets to fire. The artillery were short of horses and of harness; arms and ammunition had to be hastily brought over from Holland—in a word, disorganisation reigned supreme. When this army, if army it can be called, landed in August near Belfast, it was discovered that no preparations had been made for supplying food to the troops

when they marched inland. Provisions, no doubt, there were; the Commissariat had formed a depôt at Belfast; but not a horse or a cart had been provided to transport the food to the front. Consequently, on the few days' march to Dundalk all ranks nearly starved; while at Dundalk itself, where Schomberg formed an entrenched camp, affairs rapidly grew desperate. Food, shoes, clothing — all alike were bad; the weather was inclement, the autumnal rains earlier and heavier than usual. The English recruits would not follow the example of the foreigners in William's pay—old campaigners who made themselves comfortable under difficulties. Lazy and ignorant, with regimental officers as lazy and as ignorant as themselves, our poor lads would not cut clean fern for their bedding, or drain their camping-ground, or build huts to replace their leaky tents. Schomberg did all that he could for the English under his command, but it was impossible to induce them to help themselves. Fever naturally attacked men who so recklessly neglected every sanitary precaution; they died like flies, while the foreign troops hardly lost a man. In the month of November, Schomberg broke up his camp and retired into winter quarters, but the waste of life in this bloodless campaign was enormous. Out of 14,000 men in camp at Dundalk, 1,700 were buried there; 800 sick died in the course of removal to Belfast; 3,800 more died in hospital at Belfast[1] — a grand total of 6,300 lives, whose loss is directly attributable to the mistake of sending into the field an army which has not been carefully prepared in peace for all that it will be called upon to do in war.

Pay in Arrear.

After this campaign the condition of the Army was in some ways improved, but it is clear that there were still great delays in issuing pay to all ranks. An anonymous writer tells us that in 1691, "Six battalions in Ghent under Talmash had orders to march out and join the main body; but as we were about to march out of the city, the city gates were shut against us by the people of the place, because we had no money to pay our quarters. Our paymaster-general had gone to Holland to get money on credit, till supplies came from England."[2] In 1694 the Inniskilling Dragoons, desperate from want of money,

[1] Walton's "History of the British Standing Army," p. 66.

[2] "Short narrative of life, etc., of Marlborough," by an old officer (Lond., 1711).

A WEDDING IN CAMP.

(From the Picture [portion] by Rugendas, at Hampton Court Palace.)

by dint of mobbing the Viceroy of Ireland, succeeded in bringing to Queen Mary's notice the fact that they had drawn no pay for years. The queen sent £1,000 to the regiment out of her private purse; eight years later £2,000 more was extracted from the reluctant officials, who must have made a very good thing out of the Inniskillings; for £3,000 was all that the corps received for five years' arrears, though the pay of the regiment was not less than £16,000 or £18,000 a year.[1] Marlborough was clearly without power to correct such abuses, for in a despatch of May 27th, 1703, to the Duke of Queensberry, respecting a regiment to whom £5,500 was admittedly due, he points out that "it must needs be a very great hardship to have so great an arrear, and that it would much contribute to the service if some part of it were paid, to enable the colonel the better to clothe his regiment and the officers to support themselves in the Army."

Our Army on the Continent.

The contingent which we sent to the Peninsula during the War of the Spanish Succession appears to have been wofully neglected; for, though the House of Commons voted money freely for the expenses of the war, but little of it can have reached the army in Spain. In fact, the leakage of public money must have been incredible, for the Earl of Peterborough, under examination by a Committee of the House of Lords on the Spanish campaign, solemnly asserted "that the troops he brought there did not amount to 5,000 men, though published in the *English Gazette* to amount to 25,000. As to their condition and equipage, no regiment was provided with the least equipage, no mule, no horse, no carriage for the troops, nor any beast of draught for the artillery; no magazines for provisions for a march." He was apparently left to finance the British contingent himself, for he bitterly adds that he "was forced to shift with what money he had of his own and could pick up and down the world; and was rewarded for his pains and service by having his bills protested which he drew from Genoa."[2]

Happily for England, the fighting power of her troops abroad was in no way impaired by the incapacity of her officials at home. During the long series of campaigns

[1] Walton, "History of the British Standing Army," p. 682.

[2] "Parliamentary Hist.," vi. 948. Burton, "Reign of Queen Anne," 309.

against the French between 1689 and 1712, our men fought, always with honour and usually with success, both in the Old World and the New. In Europe they met the armies of Louis XIV. in the Netherlands and in Ireland, in Bavaria, in Spain, and in France itself; in America they drove the French from Nova Scotia and annexed it to Great Britain.

CHARLES MORDAUNT, EARL OF PETERBOROUGH.
(*By permission of the Right Hon. the Earl of Carlisle.*)

Under William of Orange our troops gained no great success in the Netherlands beyond Marlborough's dashing affair of outposts at Walcourt and the capture of Namur in 1695. At the battles at which the allies were defeated, Steinkerk and Neerwinden, the brunt of the fighting fell upon the English; and their splendid, though unavailing, struggles against overwhelming masses of the picked troops of France filled Europe with admiration. A few years later,

THE SIEGE OF NAMUR.

(*From a Dutch engraving of* 1696.)

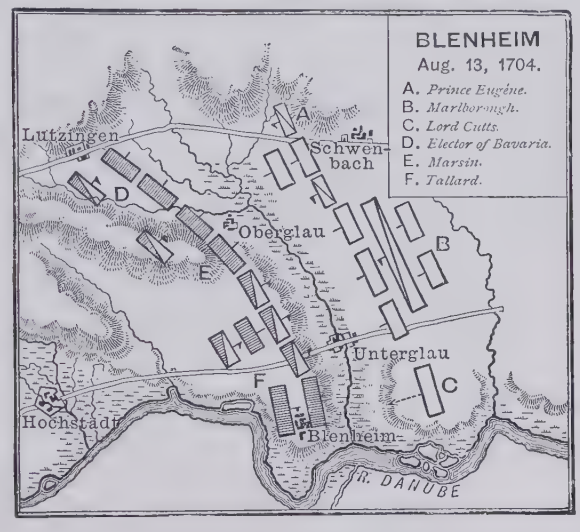
when Marlborough was in command both of the British contingent and of the whole army of the allies, our troops largely contributed to the remarkable series of crushing defeats which Marlborough inflicted upon the marshals of France. At Blenheim and at Malplaquet, at Ramillies and at Oudenarde, wherever the most dangerous work was to be done—there Marlborough led his fellow-countrymen to victory. In Spain, on the other hand, our troops had a chequered career; we took and held Gibraltar, and on the mainland, wherever Peterborough commanded, victory was ours; when a foreign general led the allied army, the French were usually victorious. One of the worst defeats which we have ever experienced was under the Huguenot Galway, at Almanza, at the hands of the Duke of Berwick, one of the illegitimate sons of James II., who commanded the army of the King of France.

Tactics.

To attempt any description of Peterborough's tactics would be impossible; for his campaigns in Spain were so erratic that, had he not been successful, he would have been dubbed a madman. Marlborough's manœuvres, on the other hand, were in accordance with the highest military science of his day, and, did space allow, it would be interesting to follow in detail the methods of handling troops on the battlefield adopted by our own great general and by the French marshals against whom he fought. But it is only possible here to indicate some of the most salient features of their tactics. Infantry attacked in heavy columns. The defenders, generally strongly entrenched in fortified villages or carefully selected positions, reserved their fire until the enemy was within thirty or forty yards' distance, when they poured in volleys from lines of infantry three or four deep. The assailants were ordered to hold their fire until they actually reached the entrenchments and could see the white of the defenders' eyes. As soon as they had succeeded in forcing their way into the position, they fell to with the bayonet. Cavalry, which played a most important part in these campaigns, was used by Marlborough with great success; and more than one doubtful day was decided in his favour by a brilliant charge perfectly timed and as perfectly led by John Churchill himself. For instance, at Malplaquet, Marlborough led a desperate attack against a line of French earthworks, in

which his eagle eye had discerned a gap. The cavalry poured through it, and though fiercely assailed by horse and foot, held on to the position they had won until the allies' infantry came hurrying up, to confirm the success and assure the victory.

The French cavalry (at Blenheim, at any rate) seem to have been slow in charging, and to have attempted to combine "shock" with "fire action"; twice on that day, when attacked by the allies' cavalry, they remained on the defensive, and



THE BATTLEFIELD OF BLENHEIM.

(From Oman's "History of England"; Edward Arnold.)

received them with a discharge of pistols and muskets, instead of vigorously counter-charging, sabre in hand. The natural result was that the momentum of the English horse carried them through the French squadrons and shattered them. The French had also a curious system of "interlacing" infantry with cavalry—in other words, placing parties of infantry in the gaps of a line of cavalry. The theory was that cavalry gained stability from the presence of infantry, but the practical result was to neutralise the advantage of the speed of the horses, by making the mounted arm conform to the slow movements of the infantry.

Artillery. As regards artillery, up to the peace of Ryswick in 1697 there was no regular organisation. A corps was improvised for each campaign: the guns were usually worked by infantry, directed by the few trained gunners in the service, who in peace time garrisoned the Tower and other fortresses. We first read of regularly constituted companies of British artillerists in 1702, when two companies of gunners, with one of pioneers and one of pontoon men, accompanied the train of thirty-six guns to the Low Countries. The histories are curiously silent about the way in which the artillery was utilised on the battlefield. It is, however, clear that the French at Blenheim had heavy batteries of 24-prs. in position, and that the artillery duel lasted four hours before Marlborough commenced his attack. During the actual progress of the fight, the duke appears to have thrust forward his guns in support of his infantry in a manner thoroughly in accordance with our modern ideas—more especially during the great final charge which shattered the French centre.

Drill. It has often been said that Queen Anne's troops were not highly drilled enough to be easily manœuvred, but at Ramillies Marlborough proved the contrary by performing a most delicate and daring evolution. To induce the French to weaken the centre of their line, he formed an enormous column of attack on his right, to threaten their left. They naturally hurried troops to the menaced point; but Marlborough, taking advantage of a convenient hollow in the ground, which, though close to the French position, concealed his movements from them, rapidly transferred a large number of the troops from the right to the centre column, which, thus reinforced, crashed through the enemy's weakened line.

Weapons. The weapons with which, in the reign of Anne, our infantry successfully played their part on the battlefields of Europe were flint-lock muskets, socket bayonets, and swords; pikes and match-locks disappeared from our Army early in the eighteenth century. The uniform was an easy-fitting scarlet coat, cut long in the skirts to protect the thighs from wet and cold; breeches; long black gaiters coming up above the knee; and shoes. For headgear, they wore cocked hats, like those of a Chelsea pensioner of the present day,

and long pig-tails, decorated with bows, plastered with powder, hung down their backs.

That Marlborough did his best for the comfort and welfare of his army in Flanders is proved by his despatches, his private letters, and his camp regulations. From the latter, interesting side-lights are thrown on the life of our troops. Discipline was necessarily stern; soldiers found out of camp without a pass signed by their commanding officers, or caught gathering "pease or beans under the pretence of rooting," are threatened with death. The culprits would, no doubt, have been treated as "maroders," and shot or hanged without mercy. Every care was taken of the sanitation of the camps; on this important point the orders were rigorous and reiterated. Prayers were to be daily performed in camp by the chaplains at the head of each brigade; on the morning of an engagement each regiment had a short service before going under fire. It is curious to see that nearly two hundred years ago British officers disliked wearing uniform, as they do now; for we find an order from Marlborough insisting that "officers shall wear regimentals in camp." To ensure a supply of meat for the men, commanding officers were to encourage butchers to buy, kill, and sell meat to their regiments—an order which rather implies that no regular issue of meat was made to the troops. Discipline.

It was not given to Marlborough to make innovations in the art of war, as was the case with Frederick the Great, who, fifty years later, revolutionised tactics by the rapidity of his fire and by his attack in line. But if Marlborough made no great discoveries, if he contented himself with the methods of his contemporaries, no man ever possessed more fully the power of utilising the tools he had to his hand. No British general ever inspired his troops with greater confidence in himself, or showed greater serenity under fire, or carried to a higher degree the art of winning victories. He was the first British general of the distinctly modern type who took part in a great Continental campaign; and the experience he acquired in the Low Countries and Bavaria enabled him to lay the foundation of the discipline and the regimental system which now obtain in the British Army.

W. LAIRD CLOWES. The Navy.

THE accession of William and Mary put an end, for the time, to the active naval rivalry between England and Holland, and substituted for it an active alliance. Holland, it is true, had already received from England a blow that was destined to be fatal to her commercial supremacy, but she was still strong upon the sea, and her aid was of inestimable value at a moment when France was making a vigorous effort to establish herself as a naval power greater than any. That Great Britain needed help is clear enough. The first great naval conflict that occurred, after the Revolution, between her and France was a drawn battle. The second was a British defeat. The third only was a British victory. But even the third was stubbornly contested. It was really a succession of actions, the most remarkable of which were fought off Cape Barfleur and under Cape La Hogue. At first, the French, under Tourville, gained some tactical success; but they were terribly outnumbered, and in the end their defeat was crushing. It is not a little remarkable that just as Torrington, at Beachy Head, had been ordered to fight at all costs, so Tourville had received from his sovereign the explicit order, "*Combattre l'ennemi, fort ou faible, et quoi qu'il pût en arriver.*" Upon each admiral were poured out subsequently the reproaches which properly had been earned by his superiors, and which should have been shared by the dockyards. Each was popularly held to be responsible for the disaster which overtook his fleet. Great Britain, at least, learnt from these events the wisdom of giving a somewhat freer hand to her naval commanders.

Naval Efficiency.

The naval reforms that had been instituted by James were well intentioned, but were, to a large extent, badly carried out, or were hampered by the prevailing corruption. William, himself a man of transparent honesty, was a little better served; and, during his reign, some real, as well as much apparent, progress was made. Yet it was necessarily slow, and not a great deal could be done until after the peace of Ryswick in 1697. Previous to that time, it is true, a new and more satisfactory scale of war-pay for officers was introduced, the marine regiments were reorganised, new docks and storehouses were built at Portsmouth, and, as presently will be related, Greenwich Hospital was founded. An Act was

THE BATTLE OF CAPE BARFLEUR, MAY 19TH, 1692.

(From the Picture by Richard Paton [1721-1791] at Greenwich Hospital. By permission of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.)

also passed, in 1696, for the establishment of a register for 30,000 seamen, who were at all times to be in readiness for the service of the Royal Navy, and who were to enjoy a bounty of 40s. yearly. It was directed that none but these registered seamen should be eligible for preference to the rank of warrant or commissioned officers in the Navy; that they should be entitled to a double share of all prize-money; and that when maimed or superannuated they might be admitted to Greenwich. But after the peace came the real cleansing of the Augean stables of mismanagement and corruption; and among the most important reforms then effected was the laying down of new regulations for the conduct of the Ordinary—that is, of the reserve of ships not in commission. It is manifest that upon the condition of such ships depends mainly the preparedness of a country for a naval war. The regulations for the Ordinary, as laid down in 1697, provided for the survey of the hulls, rigging, furniture, and stores of the ships to be laid up; for the despatch to London of estimates for the full repair and completion for sea of the vessels; and for the preservation of the fabrics from decay. These are very elaborate,

Discipline.

but are, for the most part, of merely technical interest. It appears incidentally that up to that time the officers of the Ordinary—the officers who were in charge of the ships, and who were only of warrant rank or below it—had been permitted "to Lodge, Eate, and Drink in the Great Cabbins, or Round Houses." They were ordered thenceforward "to make use of the Cabbins appointed for them at Sea, excepting the Pursers, whose Sea Cabbins being generally in the Hold, are to have the use of some other Cabbins between Decks." Again: "Each ship in harbour is to have a Jack and Ensigne always on board, to be putt forth on Sundayes and Hollydayes," and "the Smoaking Tobacco in his Ma^{ts} Yards and Ships in the Docks is absolutely prohibited . . . otherwise than over a Tub of Water." "And forasmuch as the Harbouring of Women and Children on board his Ma^{ts} Shipps in Ordinary may expose them to accidents . . . as well as Inconveniences of other kinds, We doe hereby strictly forbid the Lodgeing or Keeping of any Women or Children on board the s^{d} Shipps on any pretence whatsoever." That this regulation was necessary appears from an anonymous communication which reached the Admiralty

at about the same time, complaining that "a Great Shippe at Chatham" had lately been "without so much as one man on board, only a Woman or two, who, by the way, are dangerous." Guardships at each port were, moreover, presently re-established. They were urgently enough called for, since we learn that during the latter part of the war the dockyard people actually went by night to break up ships lying in Ordinary in order to supply themselves with cheap fuel for their houses. *Apropos* of the presence of women on shipboard, it may here be mentioned that it is a well-established, though little known, fact that Miss Anne Chamberlayne fought alongside her brother, Captain Clifford Chamberlayne, of the *Griffin*, in 1690, at the battle of Beachy Head. Subsequently, it may be added, she married, and fitly became the mother of a distinguished naval officer.

Rations

The food of the British seaman had already become practically what it was in the days of Nelson. The weekly allowance per man was: bread or biscuit, 7 lb.; beer, 7 gals.; beef, 4 lb.; pork, 2 lb.; peas, 2 pts.; oatmeal, 3 pts.; butter, 6 oz.; and cheese, 12 oz. In 1805 the only differences were that in lieu of 3 pts. of oatmeal the seaman received $1\frac{1}{2}$ pts. of oatmeal and 6 oz. of sugar, and that he might, upon occasion, receive half a pint of vinegar weekly, and limejuice when the ship was on salt rations. At both periods wine might, in certain circumstances, take the place of beer at sea, in the proportion of one pint of the former to one gallon of the latter, or spirits, in the proportion of half a pint to a gallon. At both periods, also, beef and pork were interchangeable, 3 lb. of beef equalling 2 lb. of pork; and at both periods it was directed that once every week a quantity of flour and suet should be issued instead of a certain quantity of beef. The allowance of beer, a gallon a day, may seem excessive, but the brew was weak. The average contract prices for "sea-beer" per tun of 252 gallons were, in 1684–85, 33s.; in 1686–90, 36s.; in 1691, 39s.; in 1692, 43s.; and in 1693, 50s. By February, 1695, prices had fallen again, and it was found possible to conclude the contract for the beer for the Navy in that year at 38s. The quantity purchased was 53,083 tuns, 1 hogshead, 20 gallons—a quantity estimated to suffice, with allowance for wastage and for non-consumption, for 35,000

men. Beer, like other things, if not "taken up" for consumption, entitled the seaman to compensation in cash—for food and drink in the Navy has always been held to be part of the seaman's pay—but the rate of compensation was modest, and was, for beer, 1½d. a gallon; for bread, 1¾d. a pound; for beef, 2d. a pound; for pork, 2½d. a pound; for peas, ½d. a pint; for oatmeal, ¾d. a pint; for butter, 3d. a pound; and for cheese, 2d. a pound.

Pay. In 1700 a new scale of pay for sea officers was established; but the rates which during the war had, as has already been mentioned, been increased, were now again reduced. As the pay was not materially altered for many years afterwards, the rates introduced in 1700 may here be given. They were, per day: admiral of the fleet, £5; admiral of the white or blue, £3 10s.; vice-admiral, £2 10s.; rear-admiral, £1 15s.; captain to the admiral of the fleet, £1 15s.; captain of a first-rate, £1; of a second-rate, 16s.; of a third-rate, 13s. 6d.; of a fourth-rate, 10s.; of a fifth-rate, 8s.; of a sixth-rate, 6s.; lieutenant of a first- or second-rate, 5s.; of other rates, 4s. Masters were paid by the lunar month from £9 2s. to £4 13s. 4d., according to rate; surgeons, £5 in all rates. The commander-in-chief was allowed 50 servants; an admiral, 30; a vice-admiral, 20; and a rear-admiral, 15. Captains were allowed four servants for every 100 men forming the complement of their ships. An admiral's allowance for table-money was £365 a year; but other flag-officers, unless commanders-in-chief, had none. The half-pay establishment, per day, was: one admiral of the fleet, at £2 10s.; two admirals, at £1 15s.; three rear-admirals and one captain of the fleet, at 17s. 6d.; twenty senior captains (having war service), at 10s.; thirty captains next senior, at 8s.; forty senior lieutenants (having war service), at 2s. 6d.; sixty lieutenants next senior, 2s.; fifteen senior masters (having war service), 2s. 6d.; fifteen masters next senior, 2s. The rates for lieutenants were far too small to enable a gentleman to live on shore, and so we find that during the peace a considerable number of lieutenants, as well as some captains, temporarily entered the merchant service. At about this time the earliest lists of naval officers were officially published.

The chief naval expeditions of the reign, leaving aside the ordinary cruises of fleets and single ships on foreign stations,

were many of them mismanaged where they were not otherwise unfortunate. If the strategical conduct of affairs in 1693 had been left to the naval officers, Sir George Rooke would have been reinforced from the fleet at Torbay, and would not have been exposed to the disaster which overtook him in June, when the French captured from him three men-of-war and about

Naval Expeditions.

ADMIRAL SIR GEORGE ROOKE. (*Greenwich Hospital.*)
(*By permission of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.*)

90 merchantmen of the convoy. But the counsel of persons who had no notion of the real use of fleets prevailed. It was known that the French were at sea in force, and that Rooke and his valuable charges were in danger; but it was contended that if the fleet at Torbay put to sea to succour Rooke or to go in search of the French, the latter might bombard towns on

the south coast. Sir Francis Wheeler, in the West Indies and North America, was unsuccessful. Benbow, successful in annoying St. Malo, failed at Dunkirk. Wheeler, made commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean, was lost at Gibraltar, with a large portion of his squadron. The Camaret Bay expedition ended in a complete and bloody repulse. Berkeley's attempts against Dunkirk and Calais miscarried. Lord Carmarthen's hasty withdrawal from off the Scillies at sight of a number of merchantmen, which he mistook for French men-of-war, was little short of disgraceful. Wilmot's conduct in the West Indies was infamous. Only too probable is it that the circumstances of the time operated on many men as they did on Marlborough, leading them to be wary of serving William too well lest they should incurably offend James, who might yet return. But there were compensations; and if, after 1692, the reign did not witness any very brilliant naval victories, it saw much good, though ostentatious, work done. Amongst the good deeds of our Navy at this time, not the least was its vigorous action for the putting down of piracy and buccaneering in distant seas. The famous Captain Kidd was not the only one of many miscreants of this kind who paid the penalty of their crimes.

Greenwich Hospital.

The establishment, at the time of the Spanish Armada, by Howard and Hawkins, of the naval benevolent fund known as "The Chest at Chatham" has already been noted (Vol. III., p. 644). The reign of William and Mary witnessed the foundation of another and a nobler provision for the relief of seamen who had fought and suffered in the service of their country; and just as it was the war with Spain in 1588 that suggested the formation of the Chatham Chest, so was it the war with France in 1689 and the years following that brought about the erection of the Royal Palace at Greenwich into a naval hospital. Henry Maydman,[1] writing in 1691, was the first to advocate the utilisation of Greenwich Palace for the benefit of the fleet. But he desired to turn "the new great house that stands void there" into a naval school rather than a general naval asylum, though it is to be remarked that he employs the term "hospital" in the description of his plan, and that he proposed to appoint for the government of the establish-

[1] H. Maydman, "Naval Speculations and Maritime Politics," London, 1691.

ment "a superannuated captain, to command the house; a purser, to victual them, with petty warrants from the Victualling Office; a boatswain, gunner, and carpenter, all superannuated officers, each to take a squadron of them under his care." But the immediately inciting cause appears to have been the impression made on the tender heart of the queen by her wounded seamen after the battle of La Hogue. In all probability she, or some of her advisers, had read Maydman's book, which was just then much talked about among all who took an interest in the affairs of the Navy; and it might well have thus happened that although Maydman's main idea was not adopted, part of his plan was carried into effect. Be this as it may, in 1694, by letters patent, the king and queen devoted to the purposes of a national naval hospital "all that capital messuage lately built or in building by our Royal uncle King Charles the Second, and still remaining unfinished, commonly called by the name of our palace at Greenwich," together with the adjacent land. The king personally presented an

GREENWICH HOSPITAL.

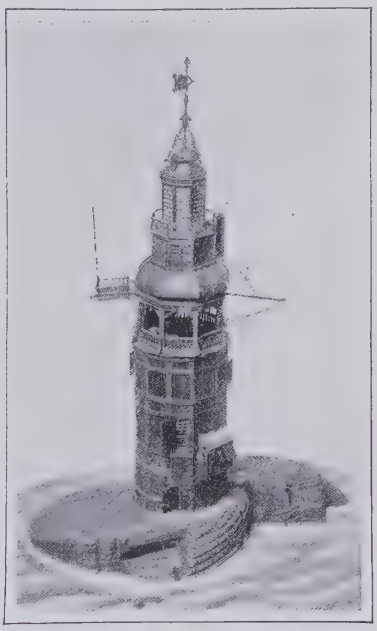
annual revenue of £2,000 to the new foundation; the good example was generally followed by the nobility and people of wealth, nearly all of whom subscribed; and Sir Christopher Wren gratuitously provided the architectural designs for the completion of the buildings (p. 532). The Registered Seamen's Act of 1696 obliged all mariners, whether of the Royal Navy or of the merchant marine, to contribute from their wages 6d. a month towards the maintenance of the hospital.

The government of the new Hospital was vested in commissioners nominated by the Crown, and under the commissioners was a resident Governor, usually a naval officer of distinction. Under the Governor were a Lieutenant-Governor, usually a naval captain; four captains, usually commanders; and eight lieutenants. There was also a treasurer, with three clerks. The first treasurer was the immortal John Evelyn, the diarist. The Hospital was opened late in 1704, and early in 1705 had 100 pensioners. In 1814 that number had grown to 2,700, a number which it never exceeded. In 1865 only 1,400 inmates remained, and in 1869, it having been determined that the system had become antiquated and unsatisfactory, the Hospital wholly ceased to be a residence for pensioners, and, instead, the large income of the foundation was devoted to making allowances to old seamen and officers living elsewhere, and to the widows and children of men killed on service, as well as to the provision of maintenance and education at Greenwich for 1,200 boys and 200 girls. In the meantime the income had increased enormously. The Hospital, in 1707, acquired by Act of Parliament a right to unclaimed and forfeited prize-money, and to a percentage upon all prize-money; and in 1735 it was given the vast forfeited estates of the Earldom of Derwentwater. On the other hand, it lost, in 1829, the contribution of 6d. a month from naval seamen's wages, and, in 1834, the contribution from merchant seamen's wages. It also, in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, ceased to have any interest in prize-money. But the Consolidated Fund awarded grants which made good the greater part of its losses, and in 1893 the invested capital of the establishment, the management of which had been further reformed in 1885, amounted to £4,000,000, and its income from landed property to £21,000. The Hospital thus founded in 1694 was, as

Macaulay said of it, "an edifice surpassing that asylum which the Magnificent Louis had erected for his soldiers," and its usefulness in encouraging the Royal Navy during the century and a quarter of storm and stress that followed can scarcely be overestimated.

Naval Progress.

Soon after the Revolution Sir Clowdisley Shovell and other qualified persons made numerous practical recommendations concerning the improvement of English war-ships. Many of these presently bore fruit. Shovell strongly opposed all contract work, declaring that it was invariably ill-done. He advocated the innovation of oval-shaped tops; the supplying two spare topmasts to every ship; the fitting of spritsails so that in case of need they might serve as main-topsails; the making of sprit-sail, topsail, mizen topsail, and maintopgallant yards similar and interchangeable; the use of shifting backstays; the reduction in weight of lower-deck guns, which were then in large ships 48- and even 60-pounders, and much more; and as half a dozen other officers were equally full of useful suggestions, it is not astonishing that the reign of William and Mary, and of Anne, witnessed the making of many improvements. Another incentive to progress arose out of the country's conflicts with France, a country which was already far advanced in the sciences of naval architecture and of maritime warfare. Between the Revolution and the close of the century considerable numbers of obsolete vessels of all classes were got rid of. On the other hand, more than twenty sail of the line and about fifty frigates were built, with the result



MODEL OF WINSTANLEY'S EDDYSTONE.

(By permission of the Elder Brethren, Trinity House, London.)

that the nominal strength of the fleet was well maintained, and its material efficiency was almost doubled. During this period, too, the emoluments of the officers and men of the Government yards were increased, and, as has been seen, some of the more gross of the manifold abuses of the yard were corrected.

Light-houses.

The lighting and buoying of harbours and estuaries received much attention under William, as did also the general lighting of the coasts of England. The construction of an Eddystone lighthouse was first proposed to Trinity House by Mr. Walter Whitfield in 1691, and one was built at his expense in 1694–98, in consideration of certain dues granted to him under patent from the Crown. Mr. Henry Winstanley, of Littlebury, Essex, designed and erected it, and a light was first shown from it in October, 1698. In 1699 Winstanley strengthened the tower, and raised it from 80 to 120 feet in height. It stood until the great storm of November, 1703, when, with its designer in it, it was destroyed.

Exploration.

In the maritime discoveries of the period the chief naval participator was William Dampier, who, after an adventurous, stormy, and semi-piratical youth, obtained in 1698, when he was forty-six years of age, a post-commission in the Navy as captain of the *Roebuck*, and made an interesting and eventful voyage to the Eastern Archipelago and the South Seas. In this voyage[1] he surveyed part of Australia, in the first English visit to which, by a portion of William Swan's buccaneering crew in the *Cygnet*, he had taken part in 1687–8.

The reign of Queen Anne was, upon the whole, a fortunate one as regards the service of the Navy as well as of the Army. There were a few conspicuous failures, and these were more than counterbalanced by the glorious successes of Rooke, Shovell, Dilkes, Byng, Dursley, Norris, Wager, and others. The victory of Vigo dealt so terrible a blow to the naval power of France that during great part of the remainder of the war the French were able to prosecute only a *guerre de course*. In such leaders as Forbin and Du Guay Trouin they had first-rate officers for this kind of work, and they took an extraordinary number of prizes. But a *guerre de course* has never decided the fate of a campaign, and the peace of 1713 was extremely advantageous to Great

[1] His voyage will be described in the next volume.]

Britain, seeing that it left her mistress of Gibraltar, Minorca, Nova Scotia, most of Newfoundland, St. Kitts, and Hudson's Bay.

The naval successes of the reign were not, however, won until some very necessary examples had been made of officers who had allowed ill-discipline, disaffection, personal spite, or, in a few cases, cowardice to impede their performance of

The Navy in War.

THE EASTERN SEAS, SHOWING NEW HOLLAND AND NEW GUINEA.
(*From a Dutch map, drawn between* 1656 *and* 1688.)

their duty. In no reign before or since have so many officers been severely dealt with. The list includes not only the miserable captains Richard Kirkby, Cooper Wade, and John Constable, who betrayed Benbow in 1702, and with reference to whom Benbow's opponent, the gallant Du Casse, wrote characteristically: "Sir, I had little hopes, on Monday last, but to have supped in your cabin; but it pleased God to order it otherwise. I am thankful for it. As for those

cowardly captains who deserted you, hang them up, for, by God, they deserve it." There were also in the catalogue Vice-Admiral John Graydon, Rear-Admiral Sir John Munden —who was treated with little regard to justice—and Captains George Ramsey, Samuel Meade, Charles Hardy, Robert Jackson, Edward Windsor, Baynham Raymond, John Lowen, Henry Lawrence, Thomas Campion, Sampson Bourne, George Cammock, Bennet Allen, Richard Long, Charles Adamson, Thomas Ekins, Timothy Bridge, John Mitchell, Philip Dawes, William Cross, Andrew Douglas, William Kerr, William Wright, Baron Wyld, and many others. Some of these had previously done good service; others did good service after their punishment. But the number and rank of the sufferers indicate how many and how serious were the departures from the strict correctness of professional conduct, and suggest that the *personnel* of the Navy at the beginning of the eighteenth century left much to be desired.

The Navy under Anne.

At her accession the queen created her consort, Prince George of Denmark, Lord High Admiral, and appointed a Council to assist him. The prince died in 1708, and, after a brief interregnum, Thomas, Earl of Pembroke, succeeded him, but resigned after holding office for a year. The queen then offered the position to Edward Russell, Earl of Bedford, but he recommending that the office should be again put into commission, a commission was appointed, with the earl as First Lord. Thenceforward, for more than a century, the post of Lord High Admiral remained unfilled.

The Marines.

The Marines, which after various vicissitudes had again become an organised corps, began in 1704 the long and splendid record of their more important achievements by taking a large share of the glory gained by the capture of Gibraltar. From that time forward there were few naval successes to which they did not conduce.

The Eddystone Light-house.

The great storm of 1703, besides being fatal to thirteen men-of-war, and about fifteen hundred of their officers and men, and causing immense damage on land, swept away, as has already been said, the first Eddystone lighthouse. A second one was very quickly begun by Mr. John Rudyerd, a silk merchant of Ludgate Hill, assisted by Mr. Smith and Mr. Norcott, shipwrights, of Woolwich Dockyard. It

was of wood, built about a solid core of moorstone, and rose to a height of 92 feet. The light, consisting of twenty-four wax candles, two and a half to the pound, was first shown on July 28th, 1708. The structure stood till 1755, when it was destroyed by fire.

MODEL OF RUDYERD'S EDDYSTONE.

(*By permission of the Elder Brethren, Trinity House, London.*)

The naval legislation of the reign was important. In 1706 Acts were passed for the better manning of the fleet. Civil magistrates were empowered to search for seamen who might be concealed. Persons who might conceal seamen were made liable to penalty; and persons delivering them up might claim reward. Conduct money was allowed. Seamen turned over from one ship to another were to be paid up arrears of wages, and able-bodied landsmen were to be raised for the sea-service In 1710 the Act of the previous reign for the registering of seamen was unwisely repealed, and the press-gang, thereby rendered almost necessary in war-time, became thenceforward a scourge in every sea-port. In the same year a duty was laid upon all ships trading to Liverpool during twenty years, the profits to be applied to improving the harbour, buoying the Channel, erecting landmarks, and building a wet dock. Another Act of the same year provided for the further enlargement and fortifying of the dockyards at Portsmouth, Chatham, and Harwich. In 1714 an Act was passed to confirm the statute of Edward I. concerning wrecks, and to order, in addition, that in case either the queen's or merchants' vessels lying hard by at anchor should omit to give assistance when demanded, their

Naval Legislation.

commander should forfeit £100 to the proprietors of the distressed ship. It was further provided that a reward should be paid to persons assisting a distressed vessel, and that, pending the payment of the reward, the vessel and her cargo might be detained. Another Act of 1714 offered a substantial reward for a method of discovering the longitude at sea, and appointing a board to sift claims, to decide upon the merits of the discovery when made, and to superintend any experiments that might be deemed desirable. This Act was modified and rendered more effectual in 1753. The two measures led to much progress in the art of navigation, and ultimately to the perfection of the chronometer.

Privateers. The circumstances of the wars which lasted throughout the reign of Anne opened many opportunities to privateers, and the age witnessed the exploits of some of the most distinguished of these characters, British as well as French. Among the British the most successful were Captain Woodes Rogers, and his colleague Stephen Courtney, who respectively commanded the *Duke*, 30, and *Duchess*, 26. In their most famous voyage they were accompanied by Dampier, who, though he had previously held a post-commission in the Navy, went only as pilot, and by Dover, the inventor of the favourite opiate and sudorific powder, who went as surgeon. The owners of the vessels were Bristol merchants. The voyage, begun in 1708, did not end until 1711. In the course of it Rogers captured many vessels and plundered many towns on the Pacific shores of America, took a very rich Acapulco ship, engaged another for two days, and came home by way of the East Indies. To the discovery by Rogers on the island of Juan Fernandez of Alexander Selkirk, a seaman who had existed there alone for five years, we owe the most enthralling romance of adventure in the language—Defoe's "Life of Robinson Crusoe." But Rogers and Courtney were far from being the only privateers of great merit in the reign of Anne. Colby, in 1708, though commanding only a sloop, engaged a Spanish convoy, and took the man-of-war sloop in charge of it, and six of her merchantmen, with an enormous treasure. And there were other men of almost equal daring. Looking to the piratical character of most of these, it is

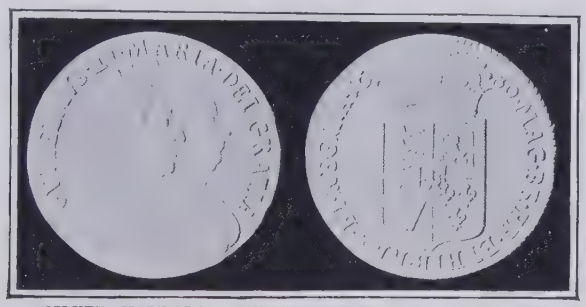
MONUMENT TO ADMIRAL SIR CLOWDISLEY SHOVELL, WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

interesting to note that when a few years later Woodes Rogers was made Governor of the Bahamas, he put down buccaneering with a strong hand.

REGINALD HUGHES. Painting, Sculpture, and Coinage: Artists.

NEITHER James II., nor William III., nor Anne contributed anything to the advancement of the arts. Kneller, the one artist who dominated the period, was the successor, and in a way the supplanter, of Lely. He was a German by birth, coming from the old Hanse town of Lübeck. Of a not more original and distinctive talent than Lely, he was even less careful of his fame. His training was exclusively Dutch, though he had travelled in Italy and had resided in Venice. His first great success seems to have been soon after his arrival in England, in 1674, when the young Duke of Monmouth sat to him. Charles sent him to Paris to paint a portrait of Louis XIV., but died in his absence. James favoured him still more, and was sitting to him when the news of the landing at Torbay was brought to London. William and Mary, Anne, Peter the Great, and the Emperor Charles VI. also were among the number of his sitters. His activity was prodigious, and a contingent of Flemings and Englishmen assisted in filling his canvases. It is probable that he rarely painted more than the head and the hands of his portraits, but it must be owned that some of his faces show masterly characterisation. It was for William and his queen that he painted the beauties at Hampton Court. Seven of the admirals now at the same palace are by him, the rest being by the hand of his contemporary, Michael Dahl. He also worked for Queen Anne, and in her reign his portraits of the wits of the Kitcat Club were executed. He settled at Whitton and led the life of a man of quality, amassing, by the aid of his assistants, a considerable fortune, part of which was subsequently lost in the South Sea Bubble. He usually received sixty guineas for a full-length portrait. He continued in the practice of his lucrative art for something like forty years, under Stuart and Guelph alike, and was made a baronet in the year 1715. Of foreigners there is a long list contemporary with Kneller, many of whom—such as Pieters, Van der Roer, Bakker, Vergazon—were among the number of his assistants, as was, on occasions,

John Baptist Monoyer, a flower painter of merit from French Flanders. The native painters were few and undistinguished. Among them, John Riley has left portraits of Lord Keeper North and of Waller the poet, not inferior to Kneller.



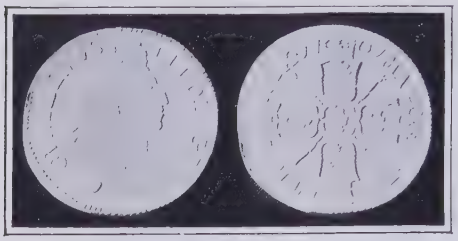
SILVER HALF-CROWN OF WILLIAM AND MARY, 1689.
(*Actual size.*)

Sculpture was, perhaps, at its lowest ebb under the last of the Stuarts. Francis Bird was the fashionable sculptor of Anne's reign. He was responsible for the queen's clumsy statue outside St. Paul's and the bas-reliefs in front of the same Cathedral, besides the monuments of Dr. Busby and Admiral Sir Clowdisley Shovell at Westminster. **Sculpture.**

The gold coins of William III. and Mary are of the same character as those of Charles II., bearing, of course, busts of the king and queen. The four shields are disposed quarterly, France being in the fourth quarter, and Nassau in a scutcheon of pretence. In silver, at first, only the half-crown was issued, but after 1691 we find crowns, shillings, sixpences, groats, half-groats, and pence in this metal. After the queen's death her profile disappears from her husband's side, and the shields are disposed cross-wise in the older fashion. The halfpence and farthings continued to give trouble. In 1690 there was a coinage of tin, resembling that of the last year of Charles II., which was followed by one of copper and pewter. King **Coins.**

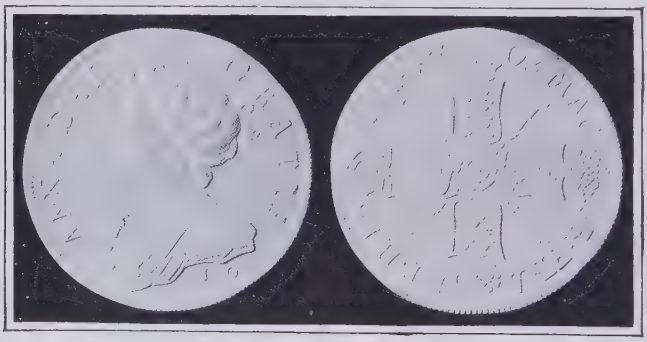
TIN FARTHING, 1690.
(*Actual size.*)

William revived the vicious practice of farming the coinage of these small pieces to private individuals. As a result a petition was presented, in 1694, by the tradesmen of London, complaining of the badness of the coin and of the extensive forgeries of halfpence and farthings, and praying that all be struck in the king's mint and of full value.



GUINEA OF WILLIAM, 1701.
(*Actual size.*)

The forgeries were not, however, confined to the small pieces. The lucrative industry of clipping and counterfeiting silver, facilitated as it was by the degraded state of the coinage, was, in fact, carried on in this reign with greater energy than ever. Something like a commercial panic ensued, and, in the sequel, a Parliamentary Committee was appointed to seek for a remedy. The general re-coinage they recommended (p. 726) was not completed until 1699. Nearly seven millions were coined, five out of the seven being executed at the

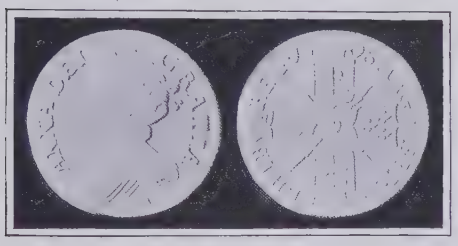


FIVE-GUINEA PIECE OF ANNE.
(*Actual size.*)

Tower Mint, the rest in the provinces. The origin of these provincial coins is evidenced by the letters B. C. E. N. and Y. stamped on the obverse, indicating the mints of Bristol, Chester, Exeter, Norwich, and York. All the coins are plentiful, and possess little numismatic interest.

There was a marked improvement in the coinage under

Anne. Her gold and silver coins are of good design and workmanship. The guinea gold is distinguished by the mark of the elephant. The precious metal captured from the Spaniards is identified by the word "Vigo" under the queen's bust. Certain plumes on some of the silver coins are believed to indicate the Welsh origin of the metal. After the Union there is a fresh arrangement of the shields, England and Scotland impaled taking the first and the fourth place, France the second, and Ireland the third. The most curious incident connected with Queen Anne's coinage was Dean Swift's proposal to the Lord Treasurer to utilise the copper coinage for popular historical object lessons. His principal points are as follow:—"That the English farthings and halfpence be recoined upon the Union of the two nations. That they bear devices and inscriptions alluding to the most remarkable parts of H.M.'s reign. That there be a Society established for the finding out of proper subjects, inscriptions, and devices." "By these means," he urges, "medals that are at present only a dead treasure, or mere curiosity, will be of use in the ordinary commerce of life, and at the same time perpetuate the glories of H.M.'s reign, reward the labours of her greatest subjects, keep alive in the people a gratitude for public services, and excite the emulation of posterity. To these generous purposes nothing can so much contribute as medals of this kind, which are of undoubted authority, of necessary use and observation, not perishable, nor confined to any certain place—properties



GUINEA OF ANNE.
(*Actual size*).

HALFPENNY OF ANNE.
(*Actual size.*)

not to be found in books, statues, pictures, buildings, or any other monuments of illustrious action." Nothing came of the Dean's eloquence, except the preparation of certain pattern farthings, with Britannia holding an olive branch, or an olive branch and spear, with the mottoes, *Pax missa per orbem* (peace sent through the world), and *Bello et pace*, and a pattern halfpenny, with the rose and the thistle growing on a single stem. These patterns are rare, whence probably the superstition which prevailed under the Georges, and, indeed, is not yet extinct, that the ordinary farthings of Queen Anne are very rare and valuable. To this day the officers of the British Museum have the melancholy task of declining offers to sell ordinary Queen Anne's farthings to that institution for £500 apiece made by deluded owners of that quite common coin.

T. WHITTAKER. Science and Philosophy: Biology.

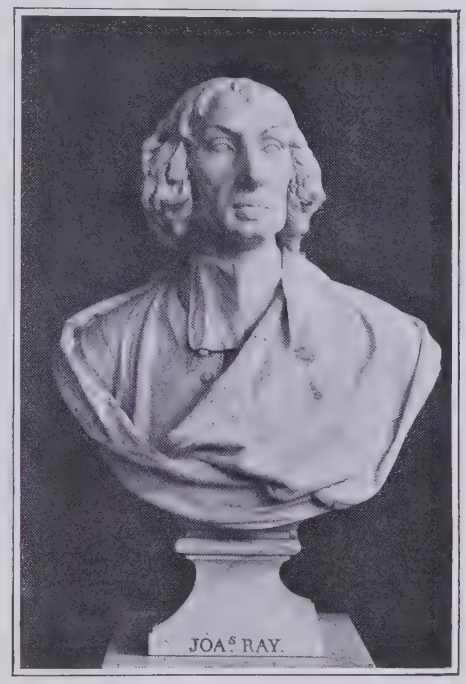
THE growing attention to detail in science is shown especially by the work done in the classificatory parts of biology. Classificatory studies had indeed been cultivated in a scientific spirit from the beginning of the modern period. Among the earliest modern zoologists is mentioned an Englishman, Wotton (1492–1555), who sought to understand the classification of Aristotle as it really was, undisfigured by medieval fancies, and then proceeded to its revision and modification. A little before the period we have now to deal with, Dr. Robert Morison, of Aberdeen, had published a systematic arrangement of plants; the titles of his works being "Præludia Botanica" (1672) and "Plantarum Historia Universalis" (1680). The principal names in botany and zoology during our period are Nehemiah Grew (1628–1711) and John Ray (1628–1705). Both naturalists had already, during the preceding years, done important work; but they come best in this place.

Nehemiah Grew.

Grew was the earliest vegetable anatomist and physiologist of England. Elected a fellow of the Royal Society on the recommendation of Bishop Wilkins, he succeeded Oldenburg as secretary in 1677. In his work on "The Anatomy of Plants" (1682), special attention is paid to the sex-differences of plants. The work contains plates representing the process of germination in various seeds. The author's observations exhibit a very clear conception of the relations and analogies of various portions of the seed.

John Ray

Selections from notes of Ray's journeys in Great Britain were edited by George Scott in 1660, under the title of "Mr. Ray's Itineraries." Ray himself published an account of his foreign travel in 1673, entitled "Observations, Topographical, Moral, and Physiological, made on a journey through parts of the Low Countries, Italy, and France." The Continental tour here described he had made in company with his friend and pupil, Willoughby, who was to have given an account of the zoological part of their great collection. Willoughby died in 1672, leaving only the ornithology and ichthyology for Ray to edit. Ray used the botanical collections for the groundwork of his "Methodus Plantarum Nova" (1682), and "Historia Generalis Plantarum" (1685). The plants gathered in his British tours had been already described in his "Catalogus Plantarum Angliæ" (1670), a work which is the basis of all later English floras. In the "Methodus Plantarum Nova" he separated flowering from flowerless plants, and divided the former according to the number of cotyledons. The difference between the monocotyledonous and dicotyledonous embryo had already been noted by Grew. Besides editing Willoughby's books, Ray wrote zoological works of his own. His attention to anatomical characters in the division of groups, has caused him to be regarded as the father of modern zoology. In zoology he fixed the conception of "species" for more than a century.



BUST OF JOHN RAY.
(Trinity College, Cambridge.)

In botany his system of classification is the dawn of the "natural system." His two books entitled "The Wisdom of God manifested in the Works of the Creation" (1691), and "Miscellaneous Discourses touching the Dissolution and Changes of the World" (1692), were the most popular of his writings. From those works have been derived a great number of the ordinary arguments for design in nature.

Astronomy.

Within this period comes much of the work of Edmund Halley (1656–1742), who in 1720 succeeded Flamsteed as Astronomer Royal. Among other achievements, he discovered the proper motion of the fixed stars, and calculated the orbit of the 1682 comet. This was the first calculation of the orbit

MEDAL COMMEMORATING EDMUND HALLEY.

of a comet that was ever attempted. The prediction of the comet's return was verified in 1759 and 1835. Halley's catalogue of the stars of the northern hemisphere appeared in 1679; his "Synopsis Astronomiæ Cometicæ" in 1705. In 1706 appeared his translation from the Arabic (which he had acquired for the purpose) of a treatise of Apollonius, with a restoration of two lost books.

Popular Interest in Science.

It is a note of the time that the diffusion of Newtonian opinions in England took place by means of experimental lectures of a popular kind as well as by books. This interest spreading beyond scientific circles became stronger in the eighteenth century; but even before the Newtonian epoch there are traces of it. In 1661 Sir Thomas Salusbury[1] had put forth

[1] *Cf.* Whewell, "History of the Inductive Sciences." i., p. 298.

a translation of several works of Galileo. The book, he says, being "intended chiefly for gentlemen," he has been "as careless of using a studied pedantry" of style "as careful in contriving a pleasant and beautiful impression." At first Newton's doctrine of gravitation gained little acceptance outside of England. In France it at length made rapid way, through the efforts of Voltaire after his return from his English visit in 1728. Till then the Cartesian theory of vortices, in spite of its difficulties, had in many places retained its hold as a kind of new academical orthodoxy, in succession to Aristotelianism. Its privileged position, however, where it had been accepted, lasted for a very short time; and the victory of the Newtonian physics was decisive.

Philosophy: John Locke.

The first continuous movement in English philosophy begins with John Locke (1632–1704), whose special work it was to make investigation of the origin of mental phenomena precede all inquiries as to the validity of knowledge. Locke took his full share in the active life of the period, and was turned to philosophy partly by his practical aims. He was born in the county of Somerset, and educated at Westminster and Oxford, becoming in 1660 a tutor of Christ Church, where he resided great part of thirty years. In philosophy he came under the influence chiefly of Descartes. At the same time he was influenced by the atmosphere of experimental research in which he lived at Oxford and London, and himself, among his other occupations, practised medicine.

His Works.

The first book Locke published with his name was the "Essay Concerning Human Understanding" (1690). Before this he had published anonymously the earlier of the "Letters on Toleration" and the two "Treatises on Civil Government." The "Thoughts on Education" appeared in 1693, and the work on the "Reasonableness of Christianity" in 1695. Locke's remaining literary activity consisted for the most part either in new editions or continuations of these works, or in controversy. His most celebrated controversy was with Stillingfleet, Bishop of Worcester, and had reference especially to the doctrine about "substance" contained in the "Essay." In 1700 the "Essay" had reached a fourth edition. Almost simultaneous was the French translation, by Pierre Coste, from the author's latest revision.

His Political Treatises.

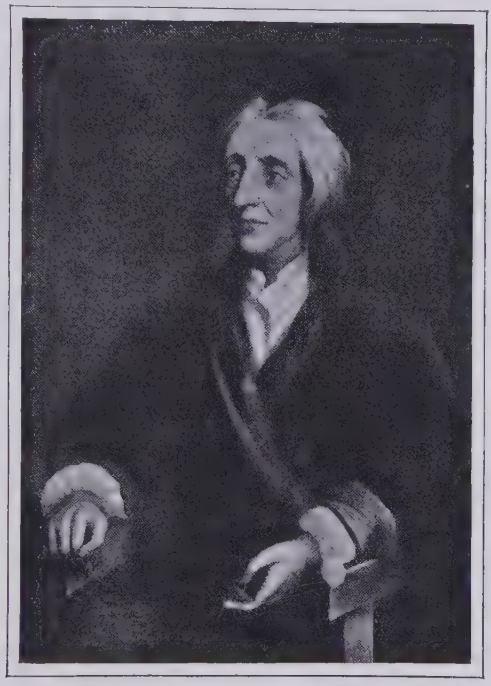
All of these works have been influential; but it is by the "Essay" that Locke's philosophical influence became a permanent force. His political treatises (1689) were written as a reply to Filmer, and were mainly a defence of the settlement which had been actually accomplished at the Revolution. The "Letters on Toleration" also had a very direct reference to the practical problems of Locke's own time. They are a plea for permitting free religious associations independent of the Established Church, rather than a thoroughgoing argument for intellectual liberty. The ground taken is that, for the purposes of civil government, strict religious uniformity is not necessary in a State. Next to the "Essay" in permanent interest come probably the "Thoughts on Education." In the history of philosophy, however, Locke may almost be identified with the "Essay Concerning Human Understanding."

His Philosophical Position.

Notwithstanding its enormous influence, the "Essay" contains very little in the way of definite solution of philosophical problems. The results attained by Hobbes and by Berkeley are as much more definite than Locke's as their literary style is superior to his. The place of Locke in English philosophy is like that of Kant in German philosophy. He takes up the problem of "criticism of knowledge," and determines the questions that his successors shall put to themselves. Berkeley is directly dependent on Locke for his starting-point, as Hume is in turn on Berkeley and Locke.

Locke's method is, before discussing directly what we can know, to consider historically the way in which the mind acquires its actual contents. First of all, he seeks to show that there are no "innate ideas," or rational principles prior to experience. That the mind has no principles of knowledge actually prior to experience would now be generally admitted. The question Locke fails adequately to consider is whether principles of knowledge do not pre-exist in the mind in a latent form. While rejecting the "intellectualist" position of Descartes as he understood it, Locke, however, is not to be classed as a "sensationalist." It was by a simplification of his doctrine on the part of some of his French disciples that he came to be so classed. The mind, in his view, acquires by experience ideas from two sources, which he calls "sensation" and "reflection." The term "ideas," it must be noted, with Locke as with

Berkeley, includes what Hume afterwards called "impressions," as well as what he called "ideas," which are copies of impressions. We become conscious of "ideas of reflection" by internal observation, which is thus set over against external sense-impressions as another immediate source of the contents of mind. Thus Locke is properly described, not as a "sensationalist," but as an "experientialist."



JOHN LOCKE.

(By permission of the Dean and Governing Body, Christ Church, Oxford.)

In his conclusions about the nature of reality, he distinguishes between "primary" and "secondary" qualities of bodies. The former, such as extension and resistance, are really in objects. Our perceptions of them are copies of the thing as it is. The latter, such as heat and cold, colour, taste and smell, are not in objects, but are effects produced in the percipient by modifications of the primary qualities. The real causes of them in bodies do not resemble our ideas.

Anticipation of Phenomenalism.

Out of simple ideas we form complex ideas. These may be ideas of "substances," of "modes," or of "relations." One of the most remarkable parts of the "Essay" is where Locke brings out the obscurity of the idea of substance. This serves as the starting-point for Hume's more radical criticism. Knowledge Locke defines as the perception of the agreement or disagreement of ideas. The term is thus applied by him only to truth that can be made the subject of demonstration. For the guidance of life, the importance of beliefs, and of probabilities not amounting to certainty, is insisted on.

His Ethics.

Locke's ethical doctrine was a kind of utilitarianism, right and wrong being made to depend on the results of actions in procuring happiness or unhappiness. Among the consequences of their actions that men have to regard, are rewards and punishments assigned by a divine or human lawgiver, or by public opinion. Locke conceives of ethical propositions as capable of a quasi-mathematical development from definitions of terms.

Shaftesbury.

Against Locke, as well as against Hobbes, the ethical doctrine of Shaftesbury is a reaction. Anthony Ashley Cooper, third Earl of Shaftesbury (1671–1713), had been a pupil of Locke; but in his general philosophical views, as in his ethical doctrine, he took a direction opposed to his master's. Positively, his ethical theory was influenced by the ancient moralists, of whom he was an enthusiastic student. His object is to give morality a base independent of all external authority. While he is metaphysically an optimistic theist—or perhaps pantheist—morality in his view is to be practised for its own sake, and not for the hope of reward or fear of punishment. The basis for morality he finds in a psychological investigation of human nature. Among the passions, he finds that unselfish affections are as natural to man as selfish ones. Over and above both, there are "reflective" feelings of approval or disapproval of the morally beautiful or ugly. As æsthetic feeling is called forth by order or disorder in the parts of objects, so the moral feeling is excited by harmonious or inharmonious relations among the affections by which conduct is determined. This "moral sense" is innate. The reflective feelings that constitute it are

not purely æsthetic, but have the power to determine action. Like the æsthetic sense, the moral sense, though innate, needs exercise to produce its proper effect. The harmony that is the object of the moral sense consists in a certain ordering of the selfish and unselfish affections as part of a system. Virtue is directed to the general good; yet egoism is not to be altogether repressed, but has its part in the harmony. To virtue happiness is joined.

Samuel Clarke.

In ethics, Samuel Clarke (1675–1729) continues the intellectualist direction of Cudworth. Action according to the "fitness" or "unfitness" of things is what, in his view, constitutes virtue. Not to regard these relations in our actions is as irrational as to deny a truth of mathematics. The work in which especially his ethical doctrine finds expression is his "Discourse Concerning the Being and Attributes of God" (1704), the outcome of the Boyle lectureship, to which he had been appointed. He was throughout his life a conspicuous figure in the philosophical and philosophico-theological controversies of the time. By his translation of Rohault's "Physics," with notes (1697), he contributed to the spread of Newtonian principles.

The English Deists.

What is called "English deism" now begins to show itself as a movement. Of the writers who belong to the group known as the "deists," the most noteworthy are John Toland (1670–1722), Matthew Tindal (1656–1733), and Anthony Collins (1676–1729). The deists have in common not any definite philosophical doctrine, but an effort towards a rationalistic criticism of the Biblical documents, and an attempt to set up a primitive pure religion supposed to be prior to everything that is called revealed religion, and to contain all that is good in it without the superstitious doctrines and the ceremonial elements with which it has become mixed. Toland's work, "Christianity not Mysterious," appeared in 1696; Collins's "Discourse of Freethinking," in 1713; "Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion," in 1727; Tindal's "Christianity as Old as the Creation," in 1730. From this last work (translated into German in 1741) dates the influence of English deism on German theology.

In philosophy Toland was a pantheist rather than a theist. He was, indeed, the inventor of the term "pantheism." All

the deists came more or less under Locke's philosophic influence. Collins was a friend and disciple of Locke. It is not, however, to any great extent, by their philosophy proper that the deists were historically influential, but chiefly in the sphere of religious thought. Both the French Encyclopædists and German biblical criticism owe much in the way of suggestion to the English deists. In England, it has been pointed out by historians, the deists and their orthodox opponents argue on very much the same ground of general pre-suppositions. Upon the question of the limits of free religious investigation an appeal to the fundamental principles of Protestantism was common to both. The apologists were admittedly better equipped with the appropriate learning, but there was no definite victory on either side. The deistic controversy died down, and new issues appeared.

Berkeley. The first great figure in English philosophy among Locke's successors is George Berkeley (1685–1753), Bishop of Cloyne from 1734. Berkeley was born in Ireland, of an English family, and was educated at Trinity College, Dublin. His philosophic masters were Descartes and Locke. His early writings, by which chiefly he has been influential in philosophy, belonged to this period. His later writings, which form a distinct group, marked off by an interval of practical activity from the earlier, will be referred to in the next chapter.

His Theory of Vision. Berkeley's chief philosophical works of the first period are the "New Theory of Vision" (1709), "Principles of Human Knowledge" (1710), "Dialogues between Hylas and Philonous" (1713). The first of these is psychological, and prepares the way for the metaphysical doctrine of the "Principles" and the "Dialogues." The received theory was that we know extension and extended objects by touch and also directly by sight; the extension perceived in the two cases being the same. Berkeley proved that our ideas in the two cases are not originally the same. By the eye we get nothing directly but ideas of colour. These visual ideas come to serve as signs of certain tactile ideas. ("Idea," as has been said, with Locke and Berkeley includes both impressions of sense and their copies.) Colours seen by the eye have been constantly accompanied, under certain circumstances, with

experiences of touch. Thus, when the former occur again the latter are suggested. This complex combination is really what we call our idea of visual extension. Till it is analysed, we take it to be simple; and think, for example, that we directly see distance. In reality, what we do is to infer, from certain present visual ideas, the ideas of touch which have been found conjoined with them in the past.

This is a slight indication of Berkeley's famous theory of vision, which has been accepted by most English psychologists since his day, and may be taken, on the whole, as established. Where the analysis is less complete is in the treatment of tactile extension itself. In touch, Berkeley does not distinguish so exactly as has been done since, the active from the passive elements. Much also has been added by physiologists to the account of the optic mechanism; but, in spite of all the aids to the psychology of vision since Berkeley's time, he remains the great discoverer in this field.

His Nominalism.

The next step to his metaphysical doctrine was his theory of "abstract ideas." This was a psychological preliminary which he himself regarded as very important, but which recent critics are disposed to think was not quite so important, either in relation to his own doctrine or generally, as he supposed. Against Locke's position that there is an "abstract idea," for example, of a triangle that is neither equilateral, nor isosceles, nor scalene, but all and none of these, Berkeley contends that we have no such ideas of an object in general, but only ideas of particular objects. We can make one particular idea stand for those that resemble it, and can thereby reason about classes of objects, and that is all. This view is, in a manner, a continuation of the nominalism held by Hobbes, and, though with occasional inconsistencies, such as the position about "abstract ideas," by Locke. Berkeley, however, makes less reference to the importance of language for thought. What he insists on is the individualised character of every possible idea that is to serve as a sign in abstract thinking. Hume, who insists more on the fact that the sign is usually a word, identified Berkeley's doctrine with his own, and has thus caused it to be sometimes misunderstood.

His Idealism.

Berkeley's metaphysical doctrine, developed in the "Principles" and the "Dialogues," is known as Immaterialism or Idealism. According to Berkeley, what the received philosophy called material substance has no real existence. The only true "substances" are "spirits," in which are included the Deity and all individual minds. Material things have no being except that which consists in their being perceived by minds. All that we can find on analysing our conception of matter is various sensible ideas grouped in various ways and constantly recurring in a certain order. The existence of an unperceived substratum of bodies, different from all ideas of sense, is, when examined, unintelligible. The true existence of the external world is simply that of a system by which ideas constantly accompany or follow one another in definite ways. The cause of this system is God, the Infinite Spirit, by whom created and finite spirits have been so constituted that certain ideas serve to them as signs of certain others. Thus, as Berkeley held, the whole structure of the materialistic philosophy of the time was overthrown.

Independent Berkeleians.

Two minor metaphysicians whose doctrines are akin to those of Berkeley are John Norris (1657–1711) and Arthur Collier (1680–1730). Norris was a disciple of Malebranche. He was also influenced directly by Descartes and by the Cambridge Platonists. In some "Cursory Reflections" (1690), he came forward as the earliest critic of Locke's "Essay." The first volume of his "Essay towards the Theory of the Ideal or Intelligible World" appeared in 1701, the second volume in 1704. Collier, who was a neighbour and friend of Norris, was also a disciple of Descartes and Malebranche. The "Clavis Universalis," the work by which he is known, appeared in 1713—that is, three years later than Berkeley's "Principles." In this work Collier arrives definitely at an assertion of Immaterialism. Norris had approached, but had never quite reached, this point. Collier's doctrine was arrived at by a way different from Berkeley's, being a kind of Platonic development of Cartesianism, argued out in scholastic fashion, and not at all on the empirical and psychological lines of Locke. It is, however, very curious as appearing so near the same time, and seems to have been thought out quite independently.

GEORGE SAINTSBURY. Literature

WE closed the section of the last chapter devoted to literature with some reference to the rise of the famous or infamous "Restoration drama." But, as there hinted, the chief recognised examples of it, with the exception of those of Wycherley (for Etherege has not even yet forced his way among the quartette, which accident arranged and use and wont have consecrated, of Wycherley, Congreve, Vanbrugh, and Farquhar), date from our present period. Indeed, the common term is so great and so misleading a misnomer that some have tried to substitute the word "Orange" for "Restoration." This does not seem very happy, for the Orange monarchy was a mere episode in English history; the word does not at once suggest any meaning to the reader who runs, and, as a matter of fact, the plays were not nearly so much "orange" as "blue." Besides, Etherege and Wycherley, who between them started the style, were beyond all question men of the Restoration, and the tone of the plays is Restoration likewise. It embodies, more definitely than anything else, the insolent and extravagantly lawless reaction from the still more insolent and extravagantly law-making ascetics of Puritanism. Whatever exceptions may be taken in detail, the flashing antitheses of Macaulay nowhere carry with them more trustworthy light than in his essay on this drama. Its most brilliant examples may have been produced under William, but the spirit of it must be sought in the pages of Pepys and Grammont—in their sketches of things that happened twenty or thirty years before William came to the throne.

The "Restoration Drama."

Despite the astonishing intellectual brilliancy of this drama at its best, it must be admitted to present, on the whole, a most unlovely spectacle. That its standards of morality are profoundly immoral is the least part of the matter. The comic muse has never been straitlaced, and from Aristophanes to Plautus, from the first play of Shakespeare to the last of Fletcher, the "peal of elvish laughter" which Charles Lamb pleaded in mitigation is often, if not always, requisite. But this particular drama breathes a spirit which, fortunately, is by no means always, or often, found in company with mere indecorum or mere sensuality. It is scarcely ever passionate, and it is almost always brutal. Just as the actual gallants of

the period carried false dice in their pockets, and did not hesitate to hire ruffians to maim or murder a rival or an opponent, so the heroes of Etherege and Wycherley to begin with, of Vanbrugh and Farquhar—though of Farquhar least of all—to finish, and of the great Mr. Congreve, the sovereign of the style between them, do not confine their play to "the game." As a rule, they are neither gentlemen nor men of honour. The great sentence of a novelist of our time—"There are some things that a fellow *can't* do"—does not apply or appeal to them. They have anticipated in a higher sphere the ideas of Jonathan Wild. Indeed, Jonathan, in one or two of his relations, is a milksop, a romantic weakling, beside such a person as Vainlove, the hero of Congreve's first play, the *Old Bachelor*. It is noteworthy, and it is pleasant to note, that the great and healthy genius of Dryden could not stoop to this type of gutter-blood. His Wildbloods, his Woodalls, his young rakes in general, have extremely little to say for themselves on the score of morality, and not much on that of refinement. But they are, as a rule, good-natured, and they only play tricks to curmudgeons and wittols, to light o' loves and baggages. The proper moral man may, like Parson Adams at Mr. Wilson's story, indulge in "a great groan" over them, but the fairly indulgent man of the world need seldom itch to give them a cudgelling. To most of the heroes of the "Restoration drama," on the other hand, the only fit instrument of purification would be what their own day called an "oaken towel."

Photo: Walker & Cockerell.
WILLIAM WYCHERLEY, BY SIR PETER LELY
(*National Portrait Gallery.*)

Nor with few exceptions, of whom the chief is the immortal

Millamant of Congreve's masterpiece, the *Way of the World*, and the more romantic Angelica of *Love for Love*, are the mistresses of these very ungentle gentlemen too worthy for them. On the other hand, when this great stumbling-block has been, with whatever pains and disgust, surmounted, the intellectual and literary delights of this drama far more than pay the adventurer for his trouble. There is far finer humour elsewhere in English, but such an astonishing blaze and volume of wit nowhere else exists either in English or out of it. Molière, though he has higher gifts than Congreve and Vanbrugh, is not their master, though he may have been their teacher, in this respect; the famous fireworks of Sheridan a century later, brilliant as they are, are little more than a reflection of these. The old reproach that everybody is witty, that the grooms and footmen outshine the fine gentlemen of other days, is but a pedantic objection. We can only be thankful for such prodigality, and it would be as reasonable to complain of an auriferous country because the footstools and the mounting-blocks were of gold.

Photo: Walker & Cockerell.

WILLIAM CONGREVE, BY SIR G. KNELLER.

(*National Portrait Gallery.*)

As we have noticed before — as has often been noticed—the most epoch-making men of this set were born close together, four decades after Etherege and Sedley, three after Shadwell and Wycherley, and at least a decade after Southerne—a bad comedy writer and a not despicable tragedian, who was loyal to Dryden, was much helped by him, and survived all the other writers of the period, not dying till the very year of Prince Charles's landing at Loch-na-Nuagh. Congreve was

born in 1670, wrote all his plays, including the wildly over-praised tragedy of the *Mourning Bride*, between 1693 and 1700, and lived for thirty years longer as a famous, gouty, idle gentleman, placeman, and wit. His other play, not yet mentioned—the *Double Dealer*—appeared in 1693. Vanbrugh, who, born two years later, died three years earlier, a knight and an architect, almost surpassed Congreve in wit, though not in lightness; and in *The Relapse*, *The Provoked Wife*, and the *Conspiracy*, produced comedies of marvellous brilliancy and of more stage knowledge than Congreve's own, though without the airy grace which in Congreve almost reaches poetic height. He also, unlike Congreve, left some very inferior, chiefly in adapted, work. Farquhar, not born till 1678, and destined to die at the age of less than thirty, produced his first play—*Love and a Bottle*—in 1698, and followed it up with others, of which the best are *The Recruiting Officer* and the famous *Beaux' Stratagem*. Both Vanbrugh and Farquhar, it should be observed, were military men. To their society is sometimes admitted Colley Cibber, who was born between Congreve and Vanbrugh, who lived to be poet laureate, and to be the butt of Pope's satire, but who was a very clever man and no mean dramatist. Of the whole batch, Farquhar is the freest from the ugliest phase of the ugly fault above censured. Nemesis, however, showed an unwonted freedom from lameness in punishing it. Just before the century was ended, not long before Dryden's death, at the very moment of the appearance of the most brilliant work of Congreve and Vanbrugh, Jeremy Collier, a nonjuring clergyman and a man unpopular in more ways than one, published his famous "Short View of the Morality and Profaneness of the English Stage," denouncing with bad reasons as well as good, foolishly as well as wisely, the enormous licence which the playwrights of the last forty years had taken. With the exception of Dryden, whose submission it is fair to attribute not merely to age, but to a sense that he was in the wrong, the rest attempted to make head against "the parson," as Dryden himself called Collier; but their case was too bad, and for once a serious critic got the better of a most popular and prevailing party of exceedingly clever authors. It is true that the explorer of the plays of the early eighteenth century will

Jeremy Collier's Attack on the Stage.

not find any exaggerated prudishness in them. But there was a distinct turn of the tide, which was hastened and made definitive by the efforts of the Queen Anne essayists. Steele, who might not have succeeded by that characteristic which Parson Adams with unconscious, and his creator with conscious, irony praised as "almost equal to a sermon," was certainly helped by Collier in substituting sentimental for sensual interest to some extent, and in banishing mere brutality altogether.

Dryden's Later Poems.

Dryden himself had the less interest in showing himself stiffnecked, that his own dramatic ventures since the Revolution drove him once more to bread-winning had generally been unfortunate, that they had latterly ceased altogether, and that he had, with his indefatigable labour and his marvellous versatility, discovered new roads to fame. He had always been fond of translating, or rather paraphrasing, from the ancients, and after King William was well on the throne he produced, by arrangement with Tonson the bookseller, and by subscription, a complete translation of Virgil, which was very successful, and which brought him in, it is said, the sum (wretched in comparison with what Pope was to make soon afterwards by his Homer, but considerable for the time) of twelve hundred pounds. He did much other hack-work, prose and verse, sometimes unworthy of him in so far as it was hack-work, but always instinct with his massive and incomparable energy. And then at last, for the ridiculous pay of two hundred and fifty pounds, and under an odd title —that of "Fables"—he printed, just before his death, beyond all question the greatest book of English verse between "Paradise Lost" and the poetical revival of the nineteenth century. This volume of paraphrases from Ovid, Chaucer, and other classics, with divers miscellaneous original poems, exhibited the most marvellous command of language, metre, and imagery, and (though the poet was all but seventy, and at the point of death, due less to any particular illness than to a worn-out constitution) was full of fiery vigour and robustness as well as perfection of form, with a varied range of colour in the sober scheme which he permitted himself that would have been wonderful in the work of a man in the very prime of life. He died in the dividing year of the centuries, and

with him the period of education of the "school of prose and reason" ended. For some eighty years to come it had but to show what it could accomplish when it was in full possession of the field, and left to its own devices.

DIDO MEETING ÆNEAS.

(From the engraving in Dryden's translation of Virgil; ed. 1697.)

At his death things did not look very well for the immediate production of works of genius, and, as a matter of fact, nothing deserving that name, except the anonymous and anomalous "Tale of a Tub" (p. 786), appeared during the first decade of the new century. But Dryden's place was to be taken with more

quickness than usual in the succession of literary monarchs by a pupil of his own, who, like most pupils who have thus succeeded their masters, had the wit to select a special part of that master's teaching, and to refine upon it rather than to attempt any advance in scale or range. The rather excessive acrimony and the extreme contradictions of the not infrequently revived discussion as to the merits of "Pope as a poet," turn on this peculiarity, at the same time that they for the most part ignore it. Posed as the question was, by the first revolt from the "Papistry" of the eighteenth century, in the form, "*Was* Pope a poet?" it cannot be very fertile of profitable discussion. If we are to deny the name of poet *simpliciter* to the master of a versification at once so consummate and to a great extent so novel, to the author of such really magnificent examples of their own kind of verse as the character of Atticus and the conclusion of the "Dunciad," to the man who, for nearly an entire century, gave more poetic pleasure to a greater number of his own countrymen than any other writer—then talk about poetry becomes a mere logomachy. We begin splitting up the poetic pleasure into kinds and parts, deciding that this is essentially poetic and this not, and in other ways becoming what (unfairly enough to the schoolmen) is called purely scholastic. What kind and what degree of poetic excellence may be allowed to Pope is a very different question, and something must be said of it when we come to the end of his career. At present we are concerned merely with the beginning thereof, though with a very remarkable beginning. Pope, who was only twelve years old when Dryden died, and had been born (no mean coincidence) in the year of the Revolution, appears to have begun writing verse very early; but he was such an unmitigated liar that his own statements about himself must be very cautiously received. His "Pastorals" appeared in Tonson's *Miscellany* (the sixth part of a publication, the first five of which had been, in a manner, edited by Dryden and had contained much of his best work), in 1709. It is pretty certain that they were really written several years earlier; but as this was the year of the poet's majority, and as the fact of their appearance is assured, we need not look beyond it. These "Pastorals" are excessively insipid and artificial; but they already display a

Pope.

most artful selection and softening of the Drydenian couplet, so as to rob it, indeed, of most of its majesty and of nearly all its variety, but to communicate to it an extraordinary brilliancy and mannered grace. The "Essay on Criticism" (1711) is much less insipid and even more polished. Next year came the "Rape of the Lock," in which appears for the first time the felicity with which the poet caught and rendered the tone of the best society of the day. The piece has fancy, though fancy a little mechanical, and, taken with its predecessors and its immediate successors, "Windsor Forest" and the paraphrase of the "Temple of Fame," it shows almost conclusively the astonishing way in which Pope could apply his couplet (he hardly used any other form of verse, and used none with any real effect) to subjects the most dissimilar in appearance. These were his chief productions before the death of Anne; though, before that event, he was engaged in the famous translation of Homer, which was at once to secure his fortunes in the ordinary sense, and to exalt him to the most extraordinary height of popular estimation that any poet had attained—perhaps that any poet has ever attained, except for a brief time—in England. Of this we shall speak later. Meanwhile, it is enough to say that Pope, who was a Roman Catholic, a Londoner by birth, and the son of a well-to-do linendraper, was early introduced to the best literary and other society, formed a part (till he quarrelled with its chief) of the Addisonian coterie, and contributed to the Essays of which we shall have to speak presently. He was even more closely connected with the mightiest genius of the time, Jonathan Swift, whose perhaps greatest book, the "Tale of a Tub," appeared, as has been said, in 1704, and was written five or six years earlier.

Minor Poets: Prior.

The poets, other than Pope, of this period, are, with one exception, either mediocrities, for whom the term mediocre is almost too kind, or else persons best postponed to the following chapter. The excellent Garth, who, following Dryden very closely, wrote a poem on the unpromising subject of "The Dispensary," which is considerably better than might be expected, and "Namby-Pamby" Philips, a sort of rival of Pope's as a pastoralist, may deserve mention; though, in common with a great number of writers from this time forward,

their place in literary history is due much more to their association with greater men and to the place they hold in Johnson's "Poets" than to any intrinsic merit. Matthew Prior has no need of any such allowances and accidents. He was a much older man than any who have been mentioned for the first time in this chapter, and had been born as far back as the year after the Restoration. Except for an exceedingly flat parody on Dryden's "The Hind and the Panther," which he wrote with Montague, he was not known as a man of letters till far into Anne's reign, being contented with a Cambridge fellowship till the Revolution, after which he received divers diplomatic appointments. These culminated, during the great Jacobite intrigue of the queen's last year, in a mission to Paris, which might have cost him his head, and did cost him his liberty for some time, though he was set free again years before his death in 1721. Prior was a man not exactly of great, but of exquisite and peculiar, genius. His larger poems, "Solomon," the worse, and "Alma," the better, have long been little read. But his smaller pieces, though displaying a distinctly epicurean temperament, have the better as well as the wiser philosophy of the Garden, and frequently display an unsurpassed lightness and delicacy of touch, varied now and then by another touch of melancholy humour, for which elsewhere we must almost go to Shakespeare, certainly to Thackeray. Many of his "Chloe" poems, and such things, as the "Kitty, beautiful and young," and the lines on Lady Margaret Harley, show the first quality: the "Lines written in a copy of Mézeray" defy competition in the second.

FRONTISPIECE TO SWIFT'S "TALE OF A TUB," ED. 1724.

An almost contemporary of Prior, Defoe, will, like Swift,

The Essayists.

and for similar reasons, best be deferred, though he had been writing for some thirty years and more when the queen died; but it is necessary to note that his remarkable *Review*, a (for the most part) tri-weekly publication, which he wrote entirely himself, and continued under the greatest difficulties for eight or nine years, set the pattern, to some extent, of the famous Essays which form the distinguishing characteristic of the queen's reign, and with some remarks on which we must close this section. Volumes have been written, and volumes more might be written, about the genesis and fortunes of the periodicals, the chief of which were the *Tatler* and *Spectator*, which appeared during the last five years of Anne, and the chief promoters of which were Addison and Steele, though most of the wits had a hand. They were partly political, but in the main social, literary, and, in the best sense, miscellaneous. To which of the two kings of this Brentford the palm must be assigned in originality and brilliancy is a favourite subject of critical difference. Both were Oxford men, but Addison never diverged from the studious habits of his residence at Magdalen, and even when Right Honourable and a Secretary of State, was essentially a "don." Steele by no means sowed all his wild oats at Merton, and, after serving some considerable time in the Life Guards, engaged in many businesses besides politics and periodical writing, being, by turns or all at once, a playwright, a theatrical manager, and a "projector" of divers commercial schemes. Addison, after long receiving the general preference, which was, as it were, summed up in Macaulay's famous Essay, has of late years rather given way to Steele, who certainly had the priority as far as ideas go, and who, with less literary finish and a more uncertain taste and touch, surpassed his friend in tenderness of feeling and in generosity of tone. In literature, however, the superiority of Addison can hardly be questioned; and the famous and lofty eulogy conveyed in the precept to whoso would acquire a perfect style, to "give days and nights to the reading" of him may so far be endorsed as to admit that in the particular kind of style he has no superior. As for the Essays themselves, though, perhaps partly from political reasons, a stand was made in them for Milton, the principles of literary criticism inculcated must necessarily seem inadequate now. But they did a great

Addison and Steele.

deal to follow up the assaults of Jeremy Collier on the ferocious brutality of the Restoration drama, and by frequent notice of interesting books, English and foreign, they did very much to spread the study of literature. The same chastening and reforming influence which was thus applied to the theatre was exercised in reference to several matters, though not with a very great deal of immediate effect. But the position which

JOSEPH ADDISON, BY SIR G. KNELLER.
(By permission of J. Clinton Baker, Esq., Bayfordbury, Herts.)

they hold most securely is that of a gallery of pictures—slightly fantastic on the one hand, and a very little caricatured on the other—of manners, of society, even of fashions, which from the delicate vividness of the painting and the enduring charm of the literary medium equals, if it does not excel, anything else of the kind. For a full century, too, the *Tatler*, the *Spectator*, and the *Guardian*, but especially the *Spectator*, were not merely imitated again and again, but held the position

The Influence of the "Spectator."

of a sort of code of taste in behaviour, reading, expression, all over the kingdom. It is not so very much of a hyperbole to call the English eighteenth century the century of the *Spectator*, and it may be doubted whether any one man, or any group of men, has ever, through literature, exercised such an extensive and durable influence over life as Addison and Steele did by means of these little sheets issued originally day by day, to be served up with the teapot and the chocolate cups. They owed this influence probably to their singular and hardly equalled combination of general sense, right feeling, and even wisdom, with an intimate understanding and relish of the follies and fancies of the time. And it is not superfluous to note that the little kitcat sketches of individuals, the tiny groups of incident and adventure which they contain, undoubtedly did a great deal, and perhaps did more than anything else, to turn the national mind into the channel where it was to find its most original and (poetry excepted) perhaps its most successful course—the channel of prose fiction.

Whatever apparent inconvenience may be caused by halting in the middle of the so-called Augustan period of literature, it may be turned into a positive advantage by the opportunity which this halt affords of observing the complete—as we observed at our last halt the partial—disappearance of the seventeenth century spirit and temper from literature. Careful critics have amused themselves, and have not lost their time by any means in pointing out isolated examples—in Lady Winchilsea, Dr. Croxall, Christopher Smart, and others—of the diviner and less artificial air which between the death of Vaughan and the rise of Blake seemed to be banished from poetry. But the rarity of these exceptions more than proves the rule. By the death of Anne (the greatest names of whose literature proper, be it observed, had a strange tendency to pass away soon after her) the eighteenth century was fully on its way, not merely in years, but in character. Johnson, its most characteristic single name, was born; Pope, its ruling poet, had fully declared himself. The decadence, accompanying the profanation, of the drama had set in. The style of sermonising —one of the most profitable and, perhaps, the most popular of all the literary exercises of the age—had sunk entirely from the rugged learning, the flaming eloquence, the sharp logic of the

Decadence and Reaction.

preceding century to the not inelegant, slightly jejune, rather moral than theological, and eminently decent performances of which Tillotson had set the example, and of which the two Sherlocks—father and son—were for a period of three-quarters of a century characteristic exponents. Poetry, as we have seen, had first had its whole arsenal re-equipped by Dryden, and had then had one particular weapon selected and brought to the utmost pitch of mechanical perfection—to a sort of

SIR RICHARD STEELE, BY SIR G. KNELLER.
(*By permission of the Worshipful Company of Stationers.*)

magazine-rifle conception, in point of rapidity, precision, and the like—by Pope. The social essay had in a very few years been born, and come to its fullest perfection. Philosophical writing was still very largely used, and was to be brought by Berkeley to a point of form which it never had reached before and has never approached since. Only two divisions of the prose writer's art were as yet little cultivated, and it is curious that these two are in one respect one. There had as yet been no great historians in England with the solitary exception of Clarendon, and there had been no great novelists at all. Still more

curiously, the narrative of fiction and the narrative of fact were both to wait for nearly a generation before they received supreme literary form at the hands of their practitioners. Even in our next section, covering all but thirty years, we shall have no history of importance to mention, and remarkable fiction, except in the case of the isolated and anomalous work of Defoe, will still lie just beyond the sky-line. But what we shall have to notice will be interesting enough—the complete working up of the Augustan tendency, the establishment to all appearance in permanence of the notion that order, correctness, precision were not merely the chief, but almost the only things worth cultivating in literature; that English before Dryden was but as brick to marble, that it was hardly worth while to look beyond the flood of the Restoration for anything. We shall find, as we always find, the seeds of reaction being sown at the same time—the very moment of triumph is always the eve of decay. But of the triumph there can be no doubt.

G. TOWNSEND WARNER. The Progress of Manufacture.

THE effect of the Huguenot immigration on the English silk industry has been already described, but the stimulus was lasting, not merely temporary. Throughout the reigns of William and Mary, and Anne, the silk trade was advancing fast. English workmen learnt to copy the French methods, trade secrets became diffused throughout the body of English silkworkers, but the fashion remained for French goods: so much so that almost all the goods produced at home were sold as "French make," the term being given ambiguously to either goods made in France or made by the French refugees. English craftsmen felt this to be an injustice, but the government refused, for the most part, to countenance the oppression of foreigners. By an Act of 1709, the oath of allegiance and the taking of the sacrament were all that was required of refugees on being naturalised. This Act was repealed by the Tory party in 1712, but the measure was a political one, for the refugees almost without exception took the Whig side. Little or no obstacle was thrown in the way of their coming to England. Opinion was more divided about their possessing the political privileges of English-born subjects. Parliament treated them with con-

sideration. In 1709, 7,000 poor people came from the Palatinate and Suabia. They were destitute, and were for some time lodged in tents at Blackheath. £24,000 was voted by Parliament for their support. Some settled in England, and 3,000 of them were planted on the River Hudson. There they quarrelled with the settlers, and finally removed to Pennsylvania, where they came to enjoy much prosperity.

The Immigrants Welcomed.

Help bestowed on refugees was regarded by economists as a profitable investment. In accordance with the Mercantile Theory (p. 626), it was clearly desirable to encourage all new trades. It was pointed out with pride that with the coming of the refugees English trade had risen and French trade decreased. In a short time the number of looms in Lyons had fallen from 18,000 to 4,000; in Tours there were seventy mills at work instead of 700. Before the Revocation England had annually imported £200,000 worth of lustrings, but by 1698 the English silk industry had grown so much that importation was totally forbidden.

Linen.

The refugees brought with them many trades besides silk-weaving. A linen factory was set up in Ipswich, but the country that made most progress with the trade was Scotland. Following English methods, an Act for burying in Scots linen was passed in 1686, and measures taken to promote the growth of flax, and spinning and weaving encouraged throughout the country. Money devoted by the Act of Union to the industrial arts in Scotland was devoted to the linen trade. After 1707 a good deal of linen was sent from Scotland into England, much to the disgust of English linen manufacturers, who feared competition. They appear to have wished that the Scotch should content themselves with making linen yarn and exporting that to be made up in England, either into linen, or what was called cotton, a material which had in reality linen threads for its warp.

Sail-cloth.

At Ipswich a refugee named Bonhomme taught the manufacture of sail-cloth. This was peculiarly favoured, not only as a new trade—for hitherto England had imported largely from France—but as a new trade which helped to strengthen England's right arm—the navy. The factory was destroyed by French agents, who bribed the artisans to return to France,

but in William III.'s reign another factory was set up in London. It was some time before the new industry was able to supply English wants in full. Even as late as the reign of George I. a proposal to prohibit the import of foreign sail-cloth was rejected because it was held that such action would weaken the navy by restricting supplies of a most important article. This is worth notice, because it shows a disposition to put the needs of the navy above the general consideration of the national wealth. The manufacture of tapestry was established at Fulham by an ex-Capuchin monk, who revealed the secrets of the art. The factory was subsequently removed to Exeter. The hat trade was another importation of the same date. The refugees brought the secrets of preparing the beaver and sticking it to the hat. So completely for a time did France lose the trade that the English factory at Wandsworth used to supply even the Roman cardinals. Eventually a refugee went back to France and restored to that country their lost arts and part of the lost trade. Paper-making was another art which we owe to foreigners. Prior to the immigration the only paper made in England was coarse brown paper, made at Dartford (Vol. III. p. 500). All the finer kinds of paper for writing and printing were imported, much from France. It is believed that we paid £100,000 annually for paper. Refugees from Bordeaux and Auvergne introduced the manufacture in England. The manufacture was the object of jealousy on the part of the French, who succeeded in destroying it as they had done the sail-cloth business, by bribing the artisans to return home, but the check was only temporary. Another mill was soon set up, and in a short time England was able to do much towards providing paper for herself. The manufacture of velvets and damasks was also brought from France at this time. The refugees also gave a great stimulus to the watchmaking and clockmaking trades, especially in the case of pendulum clocks. Other kindred arts, such as the making of roasting-jacks, locks, and mechanical toys, were also taught by foreign immigrants. They also extended the English cutlery trades by teaching the manufacture of the finer sorts of hardware and surgeons' instruments. One Huguenot produced for his

Tapestry.

Hats.

Paper and other Trades.

admission into the Edinburgh Corporation of Hammermen a surgeon's saw and lancets. Another industry which was much improved by foreign skill was that of glass-making. The glass made in England had been hitherto bottle glass. The refugees began the making of crystal glass and plate glass, and caused a great increase in the number of glass houses in and about London. Stained glass, too, was manufactured, William Price claiming to make glass of the old red colour, and Joshua Price petitioned to be afforded "a seasonable opportunity to undeceive an unbelieving age by showing his talent in painting the figure of St. Paul in the upper window towards the east" of St. Paul's Cathedral. Another proof that the English glass industry owes much to the refugees is that almost all the technical terms in the glass manufacture are derived from the French. Thus the melted glass is the "found" (*fondre*), the "siege" (*siège*) is where the crucible is put, and the fork used is called "foushart" (*fourchette*). Some sorts of pottery had been made in England from very early times. In 1635 a patent was granted for the "art of dying of Panne Tyles, Stone Juggs, Bottles of all sizes and Earthen Wicker Bottles." Lead glazing was used until 1680, when the art of salt-glazing was discovered, it is said, through an accident. At this time there were twenty-two ovens in Burslem, where articles were made for domestic use. In 1671, John Dwight took out a patent for the "mistery of transparent earthenware," or porcelain. This was the origin of the Fulham manufactures known as white gorges, marbled porcelain, statues and figures, transparent porcelain and "opacous, redd, and dark-coloured" porcelain. Dwight seems to have employed a number of foreign workmen, and to have owed

Glass.

GLASS MAKING.

("*Art of Glass*," *translated in* 1699 *by Handicquer de Blancourt.*)

Pottery.

much to them. In 1688 two brothers, named Elers, came from Holland and set up in Burslem. They made red ware and a black ware of the nature which Wedgwood afterwards made famous. They were much troubled in Burslem by the curiosity of their neighbours, who spied on their doings and processes. Accordingly, in 1710, they removed to Lambeth, where they carried on their old business and a glass-house also.

All these trades, whether new or merely improvements on old processes, were welcomed in England, despite the fact that here and there was found a grumbler who confused his pocket with his patriotism, and who thought the foreigners threw Englishmen out of work. But there were two callings followed by refugees, for which, in the opinion of the time, little that was good was to be said. One was cloth-weaving: the other calico-printing. English cloth-weavers did not think they had much that was new to learn, and held that more weavers in England meant generally less work for each. As it was, weavers found it difficult to get an adequate supply of yarn. There seemed no reason, then, for welcoming strangers who were only skilled in what Englishmen were already proficient. The other trade—calico-printing—was somewhat different. The industry was new. It was set up first at Richmond, and afterwards removed to Bromley Hall. The manufacture of cambrics was carried on in Edinburgh. Both attained considerable success. Calico and cotton goods were the fashion. Brought from the East, everyone was attracted by the lightness and delicacy of the new material. Women especially favoured them. Defoe says "that chintzes were advanced from lying on their floors to their backs, from the footcloth to the petticoat," uses for which cotton goods still continue in favour. It was in vain for the calico-printers to urge that their raw material increased in value by manufacture much more, relatively, than silk; or that they paid a duty of 14d. per yard; or that it was better to print calico than to buy it printed from the East. They were met with a challenge to show the utility of any calico: Had not the material formerly used in its place been woollen goods? was the invariable question. It was impossible to deny that calicoes were now used for many purposes for

Cloth and Calico.

POTTERY, LATE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

(Victoria and Albert Museum).

which woollen goods had formerly been employed. Consequently, calico was prejudicial to the ancient woollen industry. The supporters of the woollen trade were often very violent, going so far in one case as to throw aquafortis at the wearers of the obnoxious calico. This "riotous and inhuman conduct" seems to have checked the trade for a time, as the calico-printers complained their business had stagnated. Violence and legislation were the only two things that could check the

BROMLEY HALL, BROMLEY-BY-BOW.

wearing of calico, as the material, according to Defoe, cost but one-eighth of the price of the woollen goods superseded. A tax was imposed on printed calicoes in the reign of Anne, and in 1720 they were totally prohibited. No doubt the prohibition was generally popular in England.

The New Trades and the Old.

Thus the reigns of William and Anne were marked by considerable industrial progress. But the progress is due rather to the establishment of new trades than to the development of old ones. The coal trade was increasing slowly as the use of coal became more common; the woollen trade did not do more than hold its own. The fear of rivalry in new

materials shows that it was not expanding rapidly. The iron trade seems to have been stationary. This was due to the want of fuel. But the new trades took root quickly and grew fast. The growth was due, however, not to mechanical inventions, but to human skill and taste, and these came with the refugees. Small industries were prosperous. Copper was much in demand, and, as it was smelted with coal, did not suffer from the same hindrances as the iron trade. The Cornish mines were worked with activity, and there were projects for reopening the disused Cumberland mines in Newlands and Coniston. An interesting account is given of Cornish tin mining. The first thing was to seek a shoad, or detached bit of ore, that might indicate the vicinity of a lode. The lode was then sought by sinking essay hatches, or trial shafts, and when the lode was found a shaft was sunk and a drift, three feet by seven feet, was driven into the hill. Two shovelmen and three beelemen[1] went to a drift, and the ore was raised by being thrown from shamble to shamble, little platforms each the cast of a spade up the shaft. It was sometimes hauled up in keebles,[2] and if water was troublesome an adit was driven to get rid of it. The ore was first stamped by water stamps, and then washed to the launder, a trench in the floor where the ore sank to the bottom. As gathered up from here it was termed forehead, middle, or tails. It was then put into the trambling buddle,[3] and the last of the earth washed off. The tin kiln was four feet square, and covered on the top with a moorstone[4] with a hole in the middle. Half way up the furnace was another moorstone, which did not reach quite to the back, but left room for the flame from below. Through the hole the ore was placed three inches thick on the lower stone. A fierce fire was made down below, principally with furze, and the flame came up at the back and reverberated on to the ore, burning away the mundick.[5] When this was done the ore was raked down into the fire and fresh ore spread. The ore thus obtained had then to be stamped again, put again in the trambling

Mining.

[1] The beele is a miner's pick.

[2] Buckets.

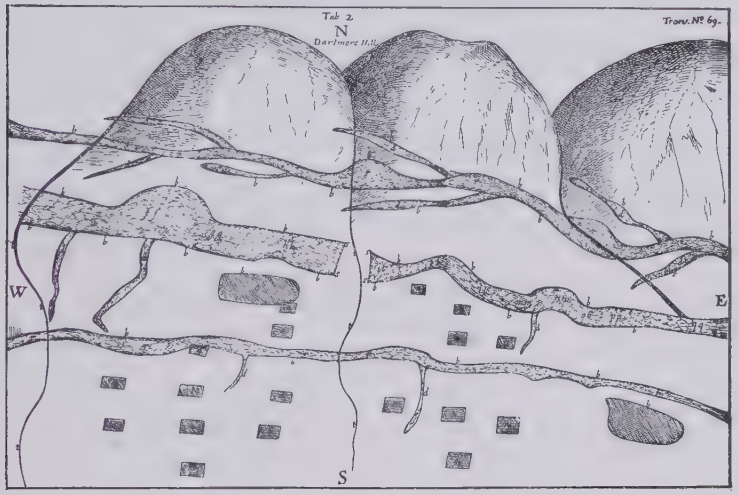
[3] The buddle is a sort of round pit: the ore is placed in it, together with a little water, and is trambled or brushed over, to get rid of impurity, by an arrangement of rotating brushes or branches.

[4] A large slab of granite.

[5] Pyrites.

buddle, and finally re-smelted before the metal was obtained fairly pure. Japanning and lacquering could be done in England so well that, in the opinion of the trade, they surpassed Indian lacquer and rivalled Japan — an opinion which may reasonably be questioned. Salt-makers, tanners, printers were all active. This general activity can be better judged owing to the practice, then becoming common, of collecting statistics. The school begun by Child and Petty was continued by Davenant and Wood. No doubt some of their figures are

Statistics of Progress.



SKETCH-PLAN OF TIN MINES IN CORNWALL.

(*Royal Society*, "*Philosophical Transactions*," *Vol. VI.*, 1671.)

not to be trusted, but there is much that is valuable. According to Davenant, the exports take a great spring upwards during the reign of William III. In 1688 the annual value of English exports was £2,006,374. In 1699 it was £6,788,166. Owing to the stress of war, it fell in 1703 to £6,644,103, and in 1705 to £5,308,966. In 1710 it was £6,690,828, and in 1715, £7,379,409. In 1711 the value of the exports to Holland alone was £1,937,934, and of the imports from that country, £579,832. The population of the towns was growing with similar rapidity. Industries tended to concentrate again, as the old town regulations grew more and more effete. It is clear that

the long wars of the time did not do much to hinder English industries. In some ways they caused expansion, by opening new markets and spreading our carrying trade. The growth of trade was also fostered by the new coinage and the banking system. Activity led to some speculation, and we may trace in William III.'s reign the same spirit that afterwards became rampant at the time of the South Sea Bubble. The most discreditable affair of the time is the business of the Mine Adventurers. The shareholders took over a number of mines and copper works belonging to Sir Carberry Price and Sir Humphrey Mackworth, and were grievously swindled. The company soon burst, and the case of various shareholders who were ruined came before Parliament. In fact, the company promoter was beginning to find plenty of victims. Trade was becoming more reputable. It was less discreditable to a gentleman to be engaged in commercial enterprise. The old families intermarried with City families for the sake of money, and Pope describes the family of the time:

Mining Speculation.

> "Boastful and rough, your first son is a squire;
> The next a tradesman meek, and much a liar."

One consequence of this was that many ignorant persons were anxious to invest in trading concerns, and, as was natural, often lost their money.

CHARLES CREIGHTON. Public Health.

THE death of Queen Mary in the Christmas week of 1694, from an attack of hæmorrhagic or malignant small-pox, brings to light one obsolete characteristic of that disease—its frequent occurrence and fatality in the palace, in the mansions of the great, and in the families of well-to-do people. Sydenham, indeed, says that few of the common people died of it compared with the numbers that perished by it among the rich; and although he had no exact comparative proof, nor could have any, for the reason that his practice in Pall Mall brought him little into contact with the masses of the people, yet it is clear, from the diaries, letters, and other memorials of the time, that small-pox was a very serious trouble among the upper classes. A brother and sister of the king died of it at Whitehall within a few months in the year of the

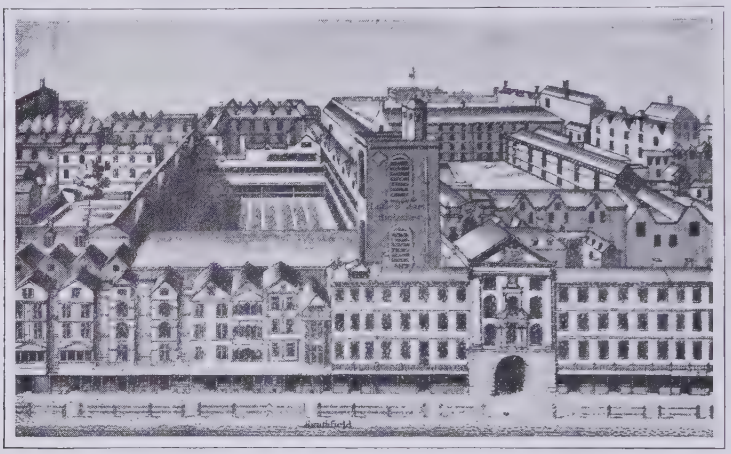
Small-pox.

Restoration; the king's surviving brother, the Duke of York, had a mild attack of it some years after, and it is said to have been the malady by which a son of that prince died in childhood. This prevalence of small-pox in the houses of the upper and highest classes is noted from the time that the malady began to be common or fatal in London, in the first Stuart reigns, until the beginning of the Georgian era. While the first great prevalence of small-pox appears to have been in London, it is not long before we begin to hear of it in the families of country squires and of well-to-do provincial citizens. Ralph Thoresby, the antiquary, who was a prosperous cloth merchant in Leeds, lost by it his two children at once in 1689, and ten years after again lost two of the four that had meanwhile been born to him. At Halifax, one of his correspondents lost three children together in 1681. In the weaving towns of the south-west, such as Taunton, the epidemics came at somewhat regular intervals of years, and carried off large numbers of children. The villages were visited at longer intervals, and in them the attacks were quite as many among the adults as among the young. The most favourable age to have it was from about five to fifteen or twenty, so much so that all the children in a house where it had broken out were allowed to take it if they would, as in an instance related by Evelyn of a rich household near Bagshot. In remote parts the visits of small-pox were rare, but disastrous when they came. It is not to be assumed, however, that other contagions in the same class were at all common. Measles is heard of in occasional epidemics; scarlatina rarely, and mostly of a very mild type. Fevers of the nature of typhus were common, especially in the Seven Ill Years at the end of the seventeenth century, but then chiefly in the northern parts, and not more than usually so in London. The first years of the eighteenth century, until the fever and small-pox of 1710, were unusually healthy in London. The same decennium was the first in the history of Sheffield (from the Restoration) in which the annual baptisms exceeded the burials in the parish registers, the marriages being one-third more than in the last ten years of the seventeenth century. The good health of this period, which was the time of the war with Louis XIV., resembled that of the war with Napoleon a century after; but

prices of food were as low in the former as they were high in the latter.

The Sick Poor.

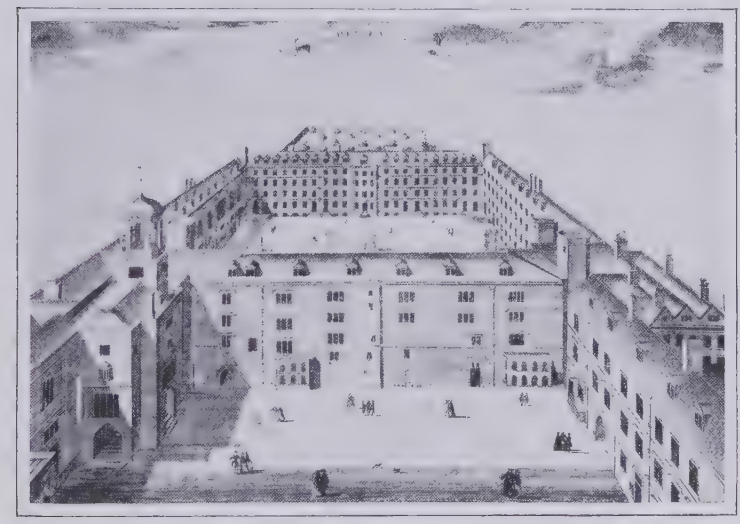
The public assistance of the poorer classes in time of sickness, so conspicuous as it is in modern life, was late in beginning, having made little progress until the great wave of philanthropic sentiment in the second half of the eighteenth century. There were, indeed, many almshouses, the endowment of which was one of the most usual forms of beneficence in the wills of rich citizens; and there were some "hospitals," in the sense of asylums for the aged and infirm, which had survived



ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S HOSPITAL.
(*From an engraving of* 1723.)

the general alienation or decay of medieval charities. In London the two great monastic foundations of St. Bartholomew, in Smithfield, and St. Thomas, in the Borough, had been converted into surgical and medical infirmaries. The old royal palace of Bridewell, adjoining Fleet Street, had been used from time to time as a plague-hospital, in addition to the two small pest-houses in Finsbury and Westminster. But the design of great hospitals for the sick, which makes one of the most characteristic Socialist visions of More's "Utopia," had come to little in the London of half a million or more inhabitants; while in Bristol, Newcastle, and other large towns nothing had been done towards it except under the Poor Law.

One reason for the slow growth of medical charity was that it almost necessarily implied the gratuitous services of medical men. Individually, the practitioners of the healing art have shown perhaps more than the average beneficence; certainly it is not to the profession of medicine that the reproach of avarice is proverbially joined. But when reduced to a system, or exacted by rule, the gratuitous service of medical men becomes an anomaly. In the plague of 1603 one of the London clergy doubted whether the doctors, who had mostly sought



BRIDEWELL HOSPITAL.
(*From an engraving of* 1720.)

safety in flight, were "bound in conscience to be resident, in regard of their profession and ability to do good, or whether they may use their liberty for themselves and, as they think, for their lives, in regard they are no public persons, and live, not by a common stipend, but by what they can get." In the last year of James II. the question of free medical help to the poor entered on its modern phase—whether, namely, the physicians who took guinea fees from the rich should be suffered at the same time to advise and physic the poor gratis, to the injury of the apothecaries or general practitioners whose business lay among the poorer class. On 27th July, 1687, the

Physicians and Apothecaries.

College of Physicians had resolved that all belonging to their corporation should give, when desired, their advice gratuitously to the sick poor in their respective localities within the city of London and seven miles round. Next year a room was fitted up in the newly built college in Warwick Lane as a laboratory for the compounding of drugs to be dispensed free to the poor on the prescriptions of the physicians. Applicants were to be adjudged "poor" who brought a letter from the parish clergyman. The project was opposed by the apothecaries, who had corporate privileges as well as the physicians (having their Hall at Blackfriars), and by a faction siding with them within the College of Physicians itself. This was the famous dispute satirised in Garth's poem of "The Dispensary," in which the case against the apothecaries and the physicians abetting them is maintained almost wholly as one of personalities or modes of practice, and with little regard to the economic question underlying it. The resolution of the College, having been openly set at naught by certain fellows or members, was voted anew in 1694. But in 1696 it was found expedient to abandon corporate action, fifty-three of the fellows, including the president, the high officers, and many seniors, guaranteeing the expenses of the Dispensary from their private purses, and meeting the objections of the apothecaries half way by charging the poor cost price for the physic. The Dispensary, however, languished, and in 1724 the room in Warwick Lane was dismantled and turned to another use. It was in times of epidemic sickness, as formerly in times of plague, that the poorer classes suffered most from their inability to fee physicians or pay the somewhat lengthy bills of the apothecaries. There are special complaints of a cynical or mercenary spirit among medical men during the severe epidemics of small-pox in 1710 and 1714; but that was merely the spirit of the time in London. When small-pox broke out among the domestics of a great house, they were sent to private houses kept by "nurses"; and it was chiefly to accommodate the domestics and other immediate dependents of the rich that the first small-pox hospital was opened about the middle of the eighteenth century, the admission to it being by subscribers' letters.

The establishment of Greenwich Hospital for disabled and wounded seamen has been dealt with in an earlier section

(p. 757). There had been a Commission for the Sick and Hurt appointed as early as 1664, on the declaration of war with the Dutch, which was empowered to appoint surgeons at the ports, and "to dispose of half of the hospitals through England." It is not easy to name any hospitals existing at that time outside London; one-half of St. Thomas's Hospital was certainly set apart from that year for the sick and wounded in the Dutch naval war. Reference has been made on a previous page (p. 742) to the complete neglect of sanitary precautions in 1689 among the Duke of Schomberg's troops in their camp at Dundalk, and in the winter quarters at Belfast—about one-half of an army of some 12,000 having perished before a shot was fired. Little is known of the health of the army in Marlborough's campaigns: but Dr. Freind has preserved some accounts of the extensive prevalence of dysentery and fever in Peterborough's expedition to Spain. It was not until the next generation that a real science and practice of military hygiene was created by the writings of Pringle and Monro.

The Sick and Wounded in War.

MARY BATESON. Social Life.

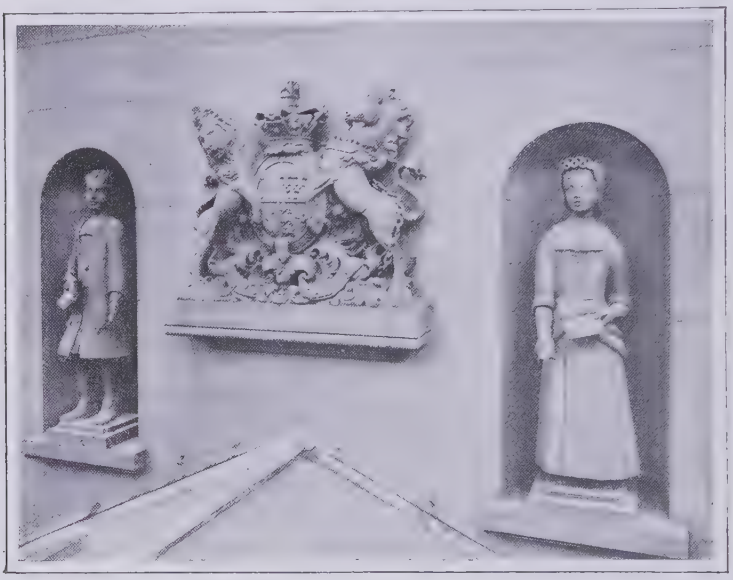
In the reign of William and Mary the rise of a number of voluntary associations, with moral, religious, or philanthropic aims, expressed the widespread desire for social reform. It is true that in 1689, as in 1642, social reform was not made a party cry; but the cordial reception given to the Prince of Orange, especially in the City of London, was partly due to the belief that the social disorders of the last two reigns would be suppressed. The City authorities combined with their Whiggism the Puritan horror of profanation of the Sabbath, cursing and drunkenness, and they knew that they had William's sympathy in these matters. The first sign of a change in the policy of the Government was given in a letter sent by William to the bishops, 1689, ordering them publicly to preach against the keeping of courtesans, swearing, etc., and to put the ecclesiastical laws in execution without any indulgence.[1] The next was given in a letter of Mary, written in the absence of the king, to the justices of the peace in Middlesex, July 9th, 1691, which recommended the execution of the laws "against profaning the Lord's Day, drunkenness,

Signs of a Moral Reform.

[1] Evelyn, "Diary," February, 1690.

profane swearing and cursing, and all other lewd, enormous, and disorderly practices," which had universally spread themselves by the neglect and connivance of the magistrates. Any officer of justice guilty of these offences or negligent in punishing them was to be punished himself as an example.

On the whole, however, it was not through Court influence that progress was made in the reform of manners. It was from the people, not from the Government, that the movement of



CHARITY CHILDREN AT THE GREYCOAT HOSPITAL, WESTMINSTER.

Societies for the Reformation of Manners.

social reform came. The work which Cromwell had given to his major-generals was now taken up by voluntary associations. The title "Society for the Reformation of Manners" was first used in 1692,[1] when five or six private gentlemen of the Church of England, with the help of the queen, banded themselves together to inform against all persons who broke the penal laws. To prevent the charge of covetousness, the societies paid over the fines to charities, and took a subscription from their members to pay the expenses of prosecutions. In 1698 the

[1] Coke, "Detection," iii., 66. Wilson's "Defoe," i., 297.

The View of the CHARITY CHILDREN on the STRAND upon the VII of July MDCCXIII being the day appointed by her late Majesty Queen ANNE for
a Publick Thanksgiving for the Peace when both Houses of Parliament made a Solemn procession to the Cathedral of St PAUL.
By the care & provisions of the Trustees of the several Charity-Schools in & about LONDON & WESTMINSTER were IV thousand CHARITY CHILDREN
Boys & Girls, being new cloathed were placed upon a Machine extended in length 630 feet which had in breadth eight rangers of seats one above anothe
During the whole procession which lasted two Hours they sung & repeated the Hymns which were prepared upon the expectation of her Majesty's Royal Presence
The Like View of the CHARITY CHILDREN was presented to his Majesty King GEORGE I. on the South side of St PAULS when he made
his Publick Entry into the City of LONDON upon the XX of September MDCCXIV.

CHARITY CHILDREN AT THE NATIONAL THANKSGIVING, 1713.

(*From an engraving by George Vertue.*)

societies received a stimulus from a proclamation against vice and impiety in all classes issued by William III. The spread of vice was ascribed to the magistrates' neglect to enforce the laws, and the judges of assize and justices of the peace were ordered to read the proclamation before giving the charge, and all ministers of religion were to read it four times a year after divine service.

Defoe's "Poor Man's Plea" (1698) was penned in the belief that the new orders would be put in force only against poor offenders. Nevertheless, the king's proclamation took some effect, for by 1699 "divers persons of quality" had joined the societies for reformation, including twenty-nine of the nobility, seven judges, and six bishops. Besides undertaking to inform, the societies established quarterly lectures on moral subjects, and at Bow Church sermons were periodically preached setting forth the objects of the reformers In 1699 the original society claimed to have obtained thousands of convictions for cursing, drunkenness, and profanation of the Lord's Day. A special society of fifty persons, chiefly tradesmen, dealt with disorderly houses, and, with the help of the Lord Mayor and the Court of Aldermen, five hundred had been put down in London before 1699. The constables united in a third society, and in London, Westminister, and Southwark there were eight other associations with similar objects.[1] Leicester, Coventry, Shrewsbury, Hull, Tamworth, Newcastle, Liverpool, and Chester had their own societies in 1699; and Archbishop Tenison's circular to his clergy encouraged them to meet with pious persons of the laity, to devise methods for reformation of manners.

The attempted co-operation of Churchmen and Dissenters in these societies led Archbishop Sharp and others to view their influence with suspicion and dislike, and at Nottingham, York, and Carlisle Sharp did his utmost to prevent their action.[2] Others objected to the whole scheme of reform as an impracticable undertaking.

In Defoe's poem on the "Reformation of Manners" (1702) an attack was made on those justices of the peace, themselves of bad character, who had joined these societies; but the societies

[1] An account of the Societies for Reformation of Manners, 1699, ascribed sometimes to Defoe, sometimes to Josiah Woodward.

[2] Newcome, "Life of Sharp," i., 170, *seq.*

held their ground, and, supported by Queen Anne's proclamation against vice (1703),[1] Defoe himself acknowledged (1706) that the rapidity of the reformation had been unparalleled "in such a time and in such circumstances." [2] In 1711 Sacheverell preached against the informers, calling their work "a sanctified pretence of reformation," and urging the Christian virtues of forbearance and forgiveness. To this attack Josiah Woodward, the historian of the societies, replied. But, as Defoe foresaw, the societies became chiefly instrumental in convicting offenders of humble rank, to whom the penalty of a fine was a serious matter. In 1759 they were used chiefly for the purpose of putting down Sunday trading.[3]

ANTHONY HORNECK.
(*After the picture by Mary Beale.*)

As early as 1687 Anthony Horneck had made rules for a society of Church of England young men, which met with opposition, but as chaplain to William III. Horneck was more successful in organising societies for religious conference, and for the support of lectures and daily prayer in churches. In 1699 these numbered thirty-nine in London, Westminster, Nottingham, Gloucester, etc., and ten in Dublin. In 1699 the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge took over the duty of providing charity schools and distributing books, leaving missions to the Society for Propagating the Gospel, which dates from 1649. Under Anne both societies flourished: by 1713, 2,250 charity children had been placed as apprentices and servants, and in 1711 a house-to-house collection, in support of missions, was organised by the queen's leave. Through the influence of Thomas Bray, who was active in the work of both societies, many parish libraries were established, and protected by an Act of Parliament, 1709.

Church Societies.

Besides exercising her influence in patronising various

[1] Malcolm "Manners of London." *See* the *Observator*, No. 92
[2] *Review*, iii., 613–14. [3] Malcolm, iv., 329; v. 329.

humanitarian undertakings, Anne kept her Court free of scandal. She ate in private, so that, Burnet tells us,

"except on Sundays, and a few hours twice or thrice a week, a night in the Drawing Room, she appears so little that her Court is as it were abandoned."

In the queen's absence her ministers received at one o'clock, three times a week, in her drawing-room. Thither Swift went regularly to meet his acquaintance, to get a dinner, and save a coffee-house.[1]

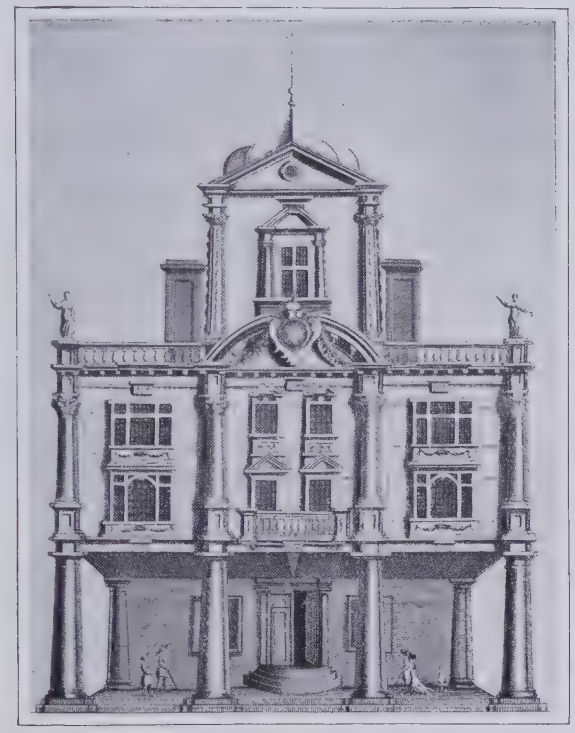
"LONG THREAD LACES, LONG AND STRONG."
(*Tempest*, "*Cryes of London*," 1711.)

Queen Anne never went to the public theatres, but had a few plays at Court.[2] She repeatedly issued proclamations against immoral plays, against admitting the audience behind the scenes, and against the masking of women. In the preceding reign Jeremy Collier's "Short View" led, in 1698, to the prosecution of Betterton, as a representative actor, for the use of obscene language; and again, in 1701–2, the players of Lincoln's Inn Fields were prosecuted for

The Stage. "uttering impious, lewd, and immoral expressions."[3] In spite of the fine acting of Betterton, Mrs. Barry, Mrs. Bracegirdle, and, later, of Nance Oldfield, the theatre was not flourishing during the reign of William III. or Anne. When, in 1682, the Duke's and the King's Companies were united, the Duke's Theatre in Dorset Gardens was used only for spectacular pieces, but in 1695 a quarrel among the actors led to the erection

[1] "Journal to Stella," Works, iii., ed. 1814, pp. 43, 151.
[2] Strickland, xiii., 103.
[3] Malcolm, v., 117; and "Dict. Nat. Biogr.," s.v. Betterton.

of a new theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields for Betterton's company. The consequence was that neither this nor the King's House in Drury Lane was well filled, and the gallery at Drury Lane was opened free to servants during the whole piece.[1] In Anne's reign the theatres in Dorset Gardens and Lincoln's Inn Fields ceased to exist, and there remained only



THE DUKE'S THEATRE.

Drury Lane and the new Haymarket Theatre, opened 1705, and used for operatic performances.

The first Haymarket opera, 1705, was got up by subscription tickets—half a guinea for stage-boxes, 5s. for first gallery, 2s. for upper gallery, or about double the theatre prices. In 1707 Italian singers were mixed with the English, and the first opera entirely in Italian was given in 1710. In that year Handel

Opera.

[1] Malcolm, iii., 97.

came to England, and produced his *Rinaldo*, containing the great aria, "Lascia ch' io pianga." The great singers of the time were Mrs. Tofts, who could sing Italian, Madame de l'Epine, and Nicolini Grimaldi. At the same time concerts in the "great room" of York Buildings became fashionable, and five-shilling tickets were sold in the chocolate and coffee-houses.

Fairs. Before the Handelian opera had in some degree purified dramatic performances, "next to the play-house" Bartholomew and May Fairs were regarded as "the chiefest nurseries" of vice,[1]

VAUXHALL.
(*From a drawing by Canaletto.*)

and in 1703 the Grand Jury of Middlesex "presented" May Fair, after an open fight had taken place between the constables and some disorderly soldiers in the fair of 1702; but it was not till 1709 that the May Fair puppet-shows were stopped. In 1700 an attempt was made to stop Bartholomew Fair, when the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen forbade any booths to be used for interludes, stage-plays, comedies, gaming-places, lotteries, or music-meetings.[2]

The Westminster justices in 1698 put a stop to a "ridotto,"

[1] Duke of Manchester, "Court and Society from Elizabeth to Anne," ii., *passim*.

[2] Malcolm, v., 113.

THE MUSIC PARTY.

(By permission, from the painting in the possession of the Right Hon. the Earl of Carlisle.)

Vauxhall. or "redoubt," which it was proposed to hold at Vauxhall.[1] It was to be a fête in the Venetian manner, with basset-banks and other entertainments, at which all persons were to be masked. Ultimately the "ridotto al fresco" was established, and was a

MAY DAY: THE FIDDLER AND THE MILKMAIDS.
(*Misson's "Mémoires,"* 1698.)

great success. Sir Roger de Coverley, on his visit there, found it his duty as a justice of quorum to animadvert upon the morals of the place.

Cocking. In 1703 the cruel game of cock-throwing, in which the object was to spike cocks, thrown with their legs tied, on to sharp stakes, was stopped on Shrove Tuesdays within the City. Fighting-cock matches were popular as ever, and formal competitions took place between such societies as the "Gentlemen of London" and the "Gentlemen of Warwickshire."[2]

Gaming. Beyond the imposition of a duty of sixpence per pack on cards and five shillings a pair on dice, by the Act 10 Anne, c. 18, no serious effort was made to stop the prevalence of gaming. Hitherto piquet cards had cost only 2s. 6d. per dozen packs; ombre and basset cards were rather dearer.[3] After the Act, Swift enters in his Journal to Stella: "Cards are very dear

[1] Malcolm, iii, 58. [2] *Ibid.*, v., 114, 125. [3] Ashton, i., 105.

. . . which spoils small gamesters."[1] The licensing of public gaming-houses belonged by patent to the Royal Groom-Porter,[2] in whose house some of the worst gaming-brawls took place.

Lotteries.

The lottery system, which developed rapidly under Charles II., was, by Act of Parliament (5 William and Mary, c. 7), employed in 1694 to raise a loan of a million to the State, in shares of £10 each. After 1699 State-lotteries were suppressed by Act of Parliament, but revived in 1710–11 (8 Anne, c. 4, and 9 Anne, c. 6) for two loans of £1,500,000 to the Government. The method was to issue 150,000 tickets at £10 each ticket, "the principal whereof is to be sunk, the Parliament allowing nine per cent. interest for the whole during the term of 32 years, which interest is to be divided as follows: 3,750 tickets will be prizes from £1,000 to £5 per annum during the said 32 years; all the other tickets will be blanks . . . each blank ticket will be entitled to 14s. a year for the term of 32 years."[3] The sales of goods of private persons were generally held by lottery, not by auction, and illicit lotteries under the form of insurance were numerous till an Act was passed in 1712 to prevent both forms of speculation. In 1708 was started the Taylors' Friendly Society for insuring the lives of adults and children, and in 1709 the Lucky Seventy, a tontine, or "the longest livers take all."[4] The newspaper advertisements give evidence that a period of speculative mania was at hand.

THE NEWSPAPER WOMAN.
(*Tempest*, "*Cryes of London.*")

Newspapers.

In the reign of Queen Anne the first daily paper was permanently established, the *Post Boy*, in 1695, having had only a brief existence. In the *Daily Courant*, 1702, only one side was printed, measuring fourteen inches by eight inches. Some

[1] Works, ii., p. 366. [2] Malcolm, iii., 50; v., 1. [3] Ashton, "History of Lotteries," 49–52. [4] Malcolm, v., 5. Ashton, "Social Life," i., 112, *seq.*

of the small sheets were printed leaving a page blank, on which London correspondents could write to their friends, and send a personal and a news-letter for the same money.[1] The *London Gazette*, price 1d., was the "truest and most cautious,"[2] and it alone, among the weeklies, contained more than the briefest summary of Parliamentary intelligence. Foreign news was translated out of the foreign papers; the dates of the sailings of ships and accounts of the taking of prizes were all that most papers contained.[3]

Essay Papers.

In 1689 appeared *Weekly Memorials*, or an account of books lately set forth, with literary reviews. The *Observator* and Defoe's *Review* and *Rehearsal*, 1704, pointed the way to the *Tatler*, 1709; *Spectator*, 1711; and the *Guardian*, 1713. The influence of the essayists was great, not only upon literature, but also upon society (p. 792). The *Tatler* was designed not only

"to enliven morality with wit," but "to temper wit with morality," to recover its readers "out of that desperate state of vice and folly into which the age is fallen." According to Gay, Steele was the first to show that "anything witty could be said in praise of the married state, or that devotion and virtue were any way necessary . . . to the character of a fine gentleman." He "made learning amiable and lovely, a welcome guest at tea-tables and assemblies."[4]

It was painful to no man to part with his beloved follies when he saw them ridiculed.

In 1712 the flood of papers and almanacs was somewhat checked by the stamp duty of a halfpenny per half-sheet, and the tax of a shilling on each advertisement. The fifty-five weekly papers, the daily *Votes of Parliament*, and the fashionable essay papers could be seen at the coffee-houses for the fee of 1d.[5]

Coffee Houses.

Many of the coffee-houses had for long been identified with one or other political party, and these are scarcely to be distinguished from clubs.[6] The political dining-clubs, such as the Tory "October," or the Whig "Kitcat" Club, met at taverns—

[1] The *Flying Post* and Dawk's *News Letter*, 1695, 1696. Nichols, "Lit. Anecd.," iv. [2] Misson, "Travels in England." [3] Ashton, ii., 71.

[4] Gay's "Character of Steele," 1729, quoted in Drake's "Essays," pt. v., p. 381. [5] Misson. In 1696 there were nine weekly papers (Nichols, iv.); in 1709, fifty-five. Malcolm, iv., 238.

[6] For a full account, *see* Ashton, i., 214, *seq.*

the first in Westminster, the second in the Strand. In summer the "Kitcat" dined at Hampstead and paraded on the Well Walk. **Clubs.**

In the "Journal to Stella," Swift notes the appearance of coarse Doiley napkins (Doiley was a leading linen-draper), fringed at each end, which were put upon the table to drink with. In some "Rules of Civility," 1703, translated from the French for the benefit of the fashionable world, readers were warned not to wipe the knife and fork on the bread or the cloth, but on the napkin. On the sideboard a basin was placed in which they could be washed: "Some are so curious that they will not endure a spoon to be used in two several dishes." The reader is also requested not to pick his teeth at table with knife or fork.[1] **Table Manners.**

HELMET EWER OF 1713.
(*Trinity College, Oxford.*)

The dinner-hour was steadily becoming later; the usual hour was three o'clock. The fashionable man began the morning with chocolate, followed in a couple of hours by green tea. In a satire upon the habits of tradesmen they are described as rising before six, they attend matins, take a half-pint of sack and a dash of gentian before eight, and after nine take tea and tobacco in a coffee-house.[2] Supper, served after eight,[3] was still only a slender meal.

Chesterfield, describing the manners of Queen Anne's time, says:— **Visits.**

> "Every woman of fashion kept what was called 'a Day,' which was a formal circle of her acquaintances of both sexes, unbroken by any card-tables, tea-tables, or other amusements. There the fine women and fine men met perhaps for an hour."[4]

Sunday calling was fashionable, and instead of the formality of leaving cards, servants were sent to ask a "How do ye?" Swift, in his sickness, received a number of these "Howdees."[5]

[1] Quoted in Bülbring's edition of Defoe's "Compleat Gentleman."
[2] Malcolm, iv., 229, 237. [3] Spence, "Anecdotes," p. 20. [4] Stanhope, "Queen Anne," p. 566. [5] "Works" (1814), iii., 82. Malcolm, iv., 238.

The Parks. The Ring, as a fashionable meeting-place, was rivalled by the Mall, in St. James's Park, where the leaders of society assembled on foot. Owing to the bad behaviour of some masked women who were driving in the Ring in hackney coaches, masking was forbidden and the park closed to hackneys, 1695, and in 1712 to one-horse chaises. The sale of ale and spirits was also stopped. On fine evenings there were two or three hundred coaches, going gently for ladies and gentlemen to have a view of each other. In 1699 a guard-house was erected to secure the public road against footpads, and the growth of Kensington drew public attention to the dangers of the road between Hyde Park Corner and Knightsbridge. William III. having bought Nottingham House and

HACKNEY COACH, 1709.

(*From a fragmentary Table of Fares issued by the Sheriffs' Court.*)

made it his palace, the road through the Green and Hyde Parks, to connect St. James's and Kensington, was improved and lighted with 300 lamps.[1]

Conveyances. The number of hackney-coaches in London was fixed in 1694 at 700, in 1710 at 800; on Sundays a still smaller number was licensed to ply. The fares were fixed from one shilling for a mile and a half. In 1711, 200 sedan chairs were licensed plying at a fare of one shilling per mile. Both coaches and chairs were, as a rule, unprotected by glasses, and the sharp stones with which the streets were paved made the motion uncomfortable. On the river the boats were cushioned, and in wet weather a cloth was spread over a few hoops to protect the stern[2]; but the disorderly conduct of the boatmen made river travelling unpleasant. People of quality kept private barges, and put their watermen into livery.

[1] Larwood, "London Parks." Chamberlayne, "State of England."

[2] Misson, "Travels in England."

Eel Seller.

Strawberry Seller.

Chicken Seller.

Chimney Sweeps.

STREET SELLERS IN LONDON, 1698.

(Tempest, "Cryes of London.")

The Post.

In 1700 the Londoners' penny post was doubled, and within a radius of ten miles from the General Post Office a penny was paid by the sender and a penny by the receiver of a letter. Parcels under a pound in weight went by the same system. There was a general office for the management of the London penny post in Bishopsgate Street, and five sorting-houses; letters were received at 500 shops and coffee-houses, where hourly collections were made. Povey, the unfortunate inventor of many schemes, planned a halfpenny post, but he was not allowed to work it. In 1710 the postage of the whole kingdom was reorganised by statute; the charge for a "single" letter was 3d. for distances under eighty miles; 4d. beyond that distance to any place in England; to Edinburgh or Dublin, 6d., and the letter thence onward charged by distance. The rearrangement was due to the union with Scotland. A weekly sum of £700 for the service of the war was to be levied on the post-office receipts. The country posts left London only three days a week, and posts were received on the alternate days. Posts to Wales and Ireland came and went twice a week, but the Irish post was always uncertain, as it depended on the winds. The Court and the Fleet stations received a daily post, Sundays excepted, when no postal work was done. The post was expected to go 120 miles in twenty-four hours.[1]

The Packet Services.

The packet-boats by which foreign mails were sent served for the conveyance of Continental travellers. The passage between Calais and Dover in 1686 cost passengers 5s.,[2] but the use of the master's cabin cost 5s. extra, and the payments to the clerks of the passage, customs officers, searchers, water-bailiffs, master of the ferry, landing-boatmen (at Dover and Calais), amounted to as much again.[3] The length of the passage, of course, depended entirely on the wind. During the war the packet-service was rendered more irregular than before, as the boats engaged in the pursuit of prizes,[4] and were used to carry merchandise, exposing them to attack. The general order was issued to captains, when engaged with

[1] Chamberlayne, "State of England," 1711.

[2] Gemelli, p. 111. Churchill, "Collection of Voyages," iii., vi.; and *see* Camden Miscellany, ix., 40. [3] In 1663. Skippon, *ib.* vi., 361.

[4] Treasury Papers, 1697, vol. xlviii., 20, on the prizes taken between Falmouth and Corunna.

VIEW OF HARWICH ABOUT 1710, SHOWING PACKET BOAT.

(*From a contemporary print dedicated to Henry Viscount Bolingbroke.*)

privateers, and when fighting was of no further avail, to throw the mail-bags overboard.[1] Some new packet-boats of swifter build, which were expected to escape attack, were built so low in the water that they were in danger of sinking. In time of peace three packet-boats ran from Dover to Calais (Tuesday and Friday evening if the wind served), two from Falmouth to Corunna (the Groyn) leaving fortnightly; two from Dover to Nieuport, Flanders (Tuesday and Saturday), three from Harwich to Helvoetsluys (Wednesday and Saturday), three from Holyhead to Dublin (Monday and Thursday), and a weekly service from Donaghadee to Port Patrick (Wigtownshire). During the war the French, Spanish, and Flemish services were discontinued, five boats were put on the Harwich line, and a line from Falmouth to Lisbon was opened, going weekly in 1712, with five boats in the service, of 160 tons each, with thirty-five men and fourteen guns. The packet-service to the West Indies was opened 1710, and left on the last Thursday in the month. By the Act of 1710 New York entered the packet-service, and had a General Post Office.[2] All who could do so got passages in the royal yachts, which made regular crossings to Brill in the reigns of William III. and Anne, and in the Hanoverian period crossed more frequently. Sometimes an individual would hire a sailing-vessel for the crossing, as did Lady Mary Wortley Montague, who paid five guineas for her passage to avoid crossing at night. Those who missed the packet and could not afford this method experienced much vexatious delay.

Yachting. Charles II., who had considerable knowledge of sailing-vessels, introduced to England the Dutch "yacht," and his example developed in the fashionable world an interest in the swift sailing of pleasure-boats. In 1665 Charles and the Duke of York had a race between their rival yachts, built by the brothers Pett. At first the yachts provided little accommodation, for the king kept his barge and kitchen-boat in attendance[3]; and when Pepys had to spend a night on board he slept on the cushions in the cabin.

When yachts became more numerous, they were used by

[1] Lewins, "Her Majesty's Mails." [2] "Treasury Papers," lxx., 27; li. 24, etc. Chamberlayne, "State of England," 1711.

[3] Evelyn, October 1, 1665. Pepys's Diary, August 17, September 17, 1665.

rich men and their friends for the Channel passage, and the viceregal yacht, between Holyhead and Dublin, picked up Swift as he was rowing in search of a vessel in which to make the passage.[1]

The Grand Tour.

Misson's "Instructions to Travellers" (1696) was the guide most generally used, and Addison, on his travels in Italy, rejoiced in the accuracy of Misson's works. The war, however, made travel almost impossible during a considerable part of the period. Italy was most easily visited. Misson recommends travellers to go singly or only in small parties, owing to the limited accommodation, and to carry, if not a bed, at least bedclothes, also a small iron machine wherewith to close doors. All his own luggage was got into "portmantles." A passport, he says, may be useful, but is not necessary.[2]

He recommends travellers staying long in one place to hire lackeys, couriers, and interpreters, and put them into livery. He gives information to help every traveller to make his own guide-book, to correct the itineraries and maps—for every traveller was perforce rather an explorer than a mere tourist. Towards the end of the period many young men of good family were sent to make favour at the Hanoverian Court.

Coaches.

Foreigners travelling in England were delighted with the easy means of communication they found here. In 1713 the flying coaches, with six horses, did 90 to 100 miles a day, at a cost of 2d. or 3d. per mile. Gloucester was reached from London in a day, Hereford in a day and a half. The journey

[1] "Journal to Stella," September 2, 1710.

[2] Bolingbroke, "Letters," ed. 82. £6 was paid for a passport, but the price was exceptional

A WAGGON, 1709.

(From a Table of Fares issued by the Sheriffs' Court.)

to Bath cost 16s. Most of the coaches engaged in long journeys did not proceed in the dark, but "slept" at the inns. Chamberlayne, in his "State of England," 1711 (the "Whitaker" of the period), says, with regard to the danger from highwaymen, that the number had been sensibly diminished since Mary's proclamation offering £40 for every capture.

"COFFEE-HOUSE BABBLE" ON THE SACHEVERELL CASE, 1710.

("*Vulgus Britannicus.*")

In the reign of William III. and Anne many statutes dealing with highways were passed to extend the turnpike system in counties lying about London. In William's reign the width of roads was regulated and their boundaries defined. The Act 8 and 9 William III., c. 16, ordered justices to erect guide-posts at cross-roads under penalty of a fine; and they were further authorised to summon special sessions for the mending of ways. The Quarter Sessions might order assessment for repairs. An effort was made to stop carters from driving six or more horses tandem. An Act of Charles II. on the subject had been evaded, but fresh laws were passed, limiting the team to eight beasts, drawing in pairs with a shaft between. In Anne's reign only six beasts were allowed in a team, except up hills. In spite of these restrictions the main roads alone were passable in winter. Notwithstanding the difficulties of travel, many of the wealthier country gentry visited London with their families during the season (October to May), and in the

summer the leisured classes made their way to the great baths in search of pleasure or of health.

A few travellers went to Aix-la-Chapelle for a water cure,[1] but the Court was content with Epsom[2] and Bath. Yorkshiremen, like Thoresby, had the "Spaw courses" at Quarry Hill, Leeds, and the Bath House at Buxton was improved by the Duke of Devonshire, 1705. London citizens sought health at Sadler's New Tunbridge Wells, near Islington, or bought their spaw waters in London. Tunbridge was less fashionable than of yore, and was frequented by "fat city ladies with tawdry Atlasses."[3] The London Turkish Bath, at the Bagnio or Hummum, in Covent Garden, costing five shillings a bath, was fashionable, and a few advocates maintained the virtues of the cold bath. **Watering Places.**

After Queen Anne's visit, in 1703, to Bath, great prosperity came to the town, and under the rule of Beau Nash its repute was well maintained, and the disorderly and dirty practices of the preceding reign were stopped. To put an end to the rough dances in canvas booths, he arranged subscription balls in the Town Hall, and started an assembly-house with a code of rules and a strict etiquette. The Beau opened the ball at six o'clock with a minuet, and after two hours country-dances began. At eleven he stopped the band, and never conceded one dance more though a princess pleaded. He made the introductions, warned young ladies against beaus and adventurers like himself, stopped promiscuous smoking, and prevented the men from wearing swords. Men might not dance in top-boots, nor ladies in aprons; neither might gentlemen appear in their morning-gowns and caps before ladies. He arranged the laying-out of the South Parade and collected £18,000, by subscriptions, for the repair of roads in the neighbourhood. Before his time the lodgings, though expensive, were rough, dirty, and poorly furnished.[4] **Bath.**

The use of large sash-windows and the admission of light led to an increased desire for showy furniture and ornament. Tapestry had given place to wainscot and wall-papers.[5] The

[1] Wilson's "Defoe," i., 210.
[2] Craik's "Swift," 151, in 1708.
[3] 1703. Atlas was a cheap silk. *Cf.* Carston's "Tunbridgialia."
[4] *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1762.
[5] Ashton, i., 63. Chamberlayne, 1711.

Furniture.

practice of tea-drinking brought in china cups and teapots, and Queen Mary's mania for the collection of Chinese ornaments became the fashion. The sale of china for ladies' cast-off clothing was a recognised trade,[1] and in 1724 Defoe writes that china was piled on the tops of cabinets, secretaires, and every chimney-piece to the tops of the ceilings, on shelves set up to hold it.[2] The English ware made at Vauxhall, Lambeth, or Fulham[3] also obtained popularity.

Women's Dress.

Queen Mary set the fashion of using chintz and East India calicoes in dress, and in Anne's reign an immense number of stuffs with Eastern names were introduced.[4]

Bodices were generally laced in front, the lacing wide across

COSTUMES AT THE CORONATION OF WILLIAM III. AND MARY.
(*From an engraving by Romeyn de Hooghe.*)

the chest, and narrowing to a point at the waist. The plain petticoat was now out of fashion, and skirts were covered with little frills or furbelows. At the back of the skirt a piece of drapery was bunched up into panniers, in front fell an apron, generally green. The tendency for dresses to widen at the hips brought in the hoop. In 1709 the *Spectator* says:—

"The petticoats which began to heave and swell before you left us are now blown up into a most enormous concave, and rise every day more and more."

[1] Malcolm, i., 242. *Cf.* Swift on the china-hucksters.

[2] Defoe, "Tour," i., 122.

[3] Ashton, i., 74. On pewter, brass, and kitchen utensils, *see* Lady M. W. Montague's "Letters"; on earthenware, Addison's "Lover."

[4] Ashton, i., 178, gives a list.

In 1710 hoops assisted in the distension. The furbelowed "mantua" and hood were worn outdoors throughout the period. With the use of the hoop came a reduction in the size of the headdress, which had grown enormous when women wore the French *fontange*, or commode, consisting of starched frills raised one above another, an exaggeration of the cap of the French "bonne." At the back of this erection fell a quantity of lace, called a "head." In evening dress, long curls were worn, one drooping over the shoulder in front, as may be seen in the portraits of Queen Anne. Pattens and clogs were worn by ladies.

Men's Dress.

The long coat of Charles II.'s time tended to become rather shorter and squarer, the skirts hanging stiffly at the back, and

HEADDRESSES UNDER QUEEN ANNE.
(*From Sutton Nichols's view of Hampton Court Palace.*)

held out with whalebone or other stiffening.[1] The waistcoat was still long enough to meet the stockings at the knees. Coats and waistcoats were embroidered,[2] and the buttonholes were elaborately frogged. The "Calamanco" waistcoat of glossy satin and wool-twilled stuff, brocaded to show a pattern on one side only, was generally worn. The cuffs of the coat were square and wide. After the battle of Steinkirk, the Steinkirk, or black cravat, came into fashion, in place of the white lace tie. The hat was cocked in a variety of ways, but no feathers were worn, except in the army. Both sword and cane were carried; in 1701 footmen alone were forbidden sidearms.[3]

Wigs.

The wig in one of its modified forms had become universal, not only with fashionable people, but with tradesmen.[4] Besides the full-bottomed or dress wig, there were various forms of wigs

[1] *Spectator*, No. 145. [2] Swift, Works, iii., 163. [3] Malcolm, v., 314.
[4] Ashton, ii., 65. A print showing printers at work in curled wigs.

for daily wear, such as the bob-wig, the "ramilie" or tie-wig. The queen was indignant when Bolingbroke appeared before her in a ramilie, saying, "I suppose his lordship will come to Court next time in his nightcap!" A dress-wig might cost as much as £60[1]; Swift paid for his three guineas.[2] Wigs were now generally powdered and perfumed for dress occasions; fops occasionally ventured to appear in flaxen wigs. In the morning men kept their shaven heads in nightcaps, and wore "night-gowns" or dressing-gowns, sometimes of very elegant materials. An advertisement records the loss of a man's yellow-flowered satin morning-gown, lined cherry-coloured satin. Though no hair was worn on the face, daily shaving was not habitual: Swift frequently notes "shaving-day" as an event. Smoking was out of fashion, snuff having taken its place. A fine "snush-box" was an essential point in a beau's equipment.

Poor men were beginning to wear the coat and waist-coat, but the short-skirted doublet, made of plain cloth or "drugget," was still to be seen among the humblest classes, and was worn by the oarsmen of the Thames.

Manners. The separation from France during the war led to an increase in the boorishness of English manners. Wit and charm were not so highly rated as in the reign of Charles II., and the Stuart grace of manner was not transmitted to Mary and Anne. Both ladies showed good breeding in their treatment of inferiors, but neither possessed much personal charm. Their good qualities came out in the domestic circle, not in the public drawing-room, where Anne found little to say, and was impelled by nervousness to gnaw the end of her fan. In general society violent political partisanship was a surer passport to social success than a well-bred cynicism which was superior to politics. Fashionable society was for the first time divided into two political worlds; those who belonged to no party had no place in society.

Evelyn, writing to Pepys, 1689, still found that the English had much to learn from the French in

> "the civilities of giving or taking the wall, sitting down, entering in at or going out of the door, taking leave, *l'entretien de la ruelle*, and other encounters *à la cavalière* among the ladies. . . The Italians and Spaniards exceed us infinitely in this point of good breeding. Nay, I observe our

[1] Hatton Corresp., Camden Soc., 1699. [2] Works, iii., 147.

THE MALL, BY MARCO RICCI. (*Portion*).

(*From the painting in the possession of the Right Hon. the Earl of Carlisle.*)

women of quality often put us to 'O Lord, madam!' when we have nothing to fill up and reply."

Women's Education.

Again, the tendency for the sexes to separate socially became more marked as the interest in politics increased. This, perhaps, was due to the state of women's education. Swift, writing a letter to a young lady[1] lately married, takes it for granted that she cannot read aloud or spell. He urges her to practise both arts, and thinks that by copying passages from books her spelling will improve. She need not fear that she will be thought learned, as she has no chance of arriving at the perfection of a schoolboy.

The evils of the prevalent system of girls' education did not pass unobserved. Yet when Mary Astell issued her Serious Proposal, 1694, for a college or monastery for women, in which special educational advantages were to be provided and girls prepared for the duties of life, Burnet opposed it on the ground that the promoters of the scheme would be suspected of leanings to Roman Catholicism, though Mary Astell was a strong Churchwoman.

As to boys' home education, chaplains, whose behaviour often gave offence, began to disappear from noblemen's houses. They had always been reckoned among the "domestics," and were required to leave the dinner-table before the sweet course.[2] The war closed France, so that it became usual to have French tutors, often refugees, and also a governor, to teach Latin and Greek, and sometimes geography and history. Burnet was a strong advocate for these last, and held that boys who showed an incurable aversion to Latin should have their attention directed to natural history. As tutor to the little Duke of Gloucester, Burnet had scope to carry his theories into practice, going into religious questions very copiously, and through geography so often with him that he knew all the maps very particularly; the forms of government in every country were explained to him, all the great revolutions, the "Gothic constitution," and the beneficiary and feudal laws, by the time he was eleven years old.

In his account of the country gentry Burnet writes: "They are the worst instructed and least knowing of any of their

[1] Works, v., 148. *Cf.* also xvi. 310, and Essay on the Education of Ladies.
[2] *Tatler*, 255. *Guardian*, 173. Ballard, "Learned Women," 262.

rank I ever went amongst. . . . After they had forgot their catechism, they acquire no more new knowledge but what they learn in plays and romances." He saw many first led astray at the Universities, where men were taught merely to despise all who had forsaken the Church. He lamented the barbarous custom which required for the honour of the house that none should go out of it sober.

The commonalty he found densely ignorant in matters of religion, Dissenters alone being well taught. This ignorance was not diminished, though numbers of cheap, small books were circulated by charitable societies. The trading classes were

"the best Body in the Nation, generous, sober, and charitable: So that while the People in the Country are so immersed in their Affairs, that the Sense of Religion cannot reach them, there is a better Spirit stirring in our Cities; more Knowledge, more Zeal, and more Charity, with a great deal more of Devotion."

But he adds that many of the townspeople, suffering from want of exercise, were filled with gloom, and made their religion a source, not of joy, but of melancholy.

JAMES COLVILLE. Scotland: The Union, 1707.

To this period belongs the most momentous event yet encountered in the nation's history, the organic change that incorporated the sister Parliaments. A rapid and even picturesque series of events led up to this issue. At the Revolution armed Hillmen, in grim plaided bands, watched alike the trimming official Whigs of the Convention and the blood-dyed Tories of the days of persecution. The bishops still opened the meetings, praying that the exile, as the darling of Heaven, might speedily possess the hearts of his friends and the necks of his enemies. But Parliament abolished Prelacy, and the angry mob in the Parliament Close soon hustled the bishops into obscurity. Dundee, heading the reactionaries, roused the worst elements of social disorder to bolster up a bad cause. But a stray bullet on Killiecrankie saved, by a gallant death, a reputation tarnished in the service of despotism. Two years later the ever-open Highland question again found tragic utterance amid the blood-stained snows of Glencoe, where a Whig administrator, Dalrymple, tried the old Royalist game. But though the object was now more justifiable and the means

Photo: Malsaac & Riddle, Oban.

THE PASS OF GLENCOE.

no whit more brutal, the power of a free Parliament and not a Secret Council was abroad. A Parliamentary Opposition made Glencoe the subject of the first Royal Commission. That such a thing was possible was the most hopeful sign of the times. The victory of the Parliament of 1690 in abolishing the Lords of the Articles, and the driving of Dalrymple, William's Viceroy, from office, made a Parliamentary Union a necessity. The question was complicated by religious and economic difficulties. The Episcopalians, arrogant and disaffected, and the Presbyterians, intolerant and suspicious, hated each other. North of the Tay the former were still all-powerful. The Scottish Ulster in the Lowlands was divided between Extremists and Moderates. Economic disquiet was still more deeply seated. England's trade was still hide-bound by jealous exclusiveness (p. 262). The Darien Scheme, though significant of new-found energies, proved an industrial Flodden, only vastly more searching in its social effects. The flame thus fed was fanned by the spurious patriotism of the Jacobites that for long delayed and imperilled the Union. But the exiled Stuarts never had any hold on the people, and never influenced the national life save for the glamour of romance that the enchantment of a receding past has thrown over the cause.

The Commission to treat for union was dissolved in 1703, owing to England's refusal of equal trading privileges to Scotland. The consequent antagonism produced on the one side the Act of Security, which excluded the English succession to the Scottish throne, and on the other the Alien Act, which refused to the Scots the privileges of English citizens. But the English Whigs soon came to see that union was absolutely necessary to secure the Revolution Settlement. The repeal of the obnoxious Alien Act of 1705 prepared the way for the resumption of negotiations. A young patriotic party, under Fletcher of Saltoun, eager for a free Parliament, stood out for a Federal Union, but the votes of the moderate Whigs secured the appointment of commissioners whose deliberations throughout 1706 resulted in an Incorporating Union on the basis of free trade and uniform taxation. The Act of Union thus negotiated was touched with the sceptre by the Royal Commissioner on 1st May, 1707, and thus ended the old Scots Estates. The Union consolidated the Parliamentary and the

fiscal systems of the two countries, supplemented the Scottish Judicature by the highest English Court of Appeal, and secured the National Church by a clause in the Coronation Oath.

After 1707 the social interest of Scottish history vastly increases as the political diminishes. The attitude of the Scottish members in the House of Commons — their isolation, clannishness, and disagreeable pertinacity in the redress of grievances—is of much less moment than the settlement of the Church and that falling into line with the general progress of the nation in manners, culture, and industrial activity which the Union brought in its train. The Revolution by no means led Presbyterian polity into smooth waters. Extremists clung to their anachronism of a Covenant.

ANDREW FLETCHER OF SALTOUN.

(*Sutherland Collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford.*)

Social Changes.

The Episcopalians, Jacobite and disloyal to the core, hated Revolution and Union alike. The king had no love for that free General Assembly which the people cherished as the last of their institutions. But these discordant elements were reconciled and the Kirk established in peace until the influx of Southrons, engaged in the new fiscal and administrative duties, introduced the elaborate ritual which was alien alike to Presbyterians and Northern Episcopalians. Many incidents, notable at the time, served to produce much friction. The Abjuration Oath made many nonjurors of the secretly disloyal. The Presbyterians, on the other hand, though faithful to the Union, saw in the spread of ritual an inrush of Popery, and in the Coronation Oath and the power of the spiritual peers a danger and an insult to Presbyterian polity. The Tory reaction, associated with Bolingbroke and Sacheverell, took effect in Scotland, producing the famous measures of 1712—Toleration of Episcopacy and the Restoration of Patronage, both fruitful of long-enduring effects. In another direction the incidental results of the Union were socially unsettling. The new fiscal system, alien and unfamiliar, was extremely unpopular, and produced

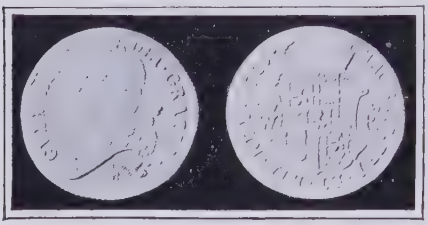
an industrial disloyalty even more virulent than the political. To support an illicit trade by smuggling was patriotic; to discountenance it was to act the obsequious spy for the English. Even the well-meaning Scot believed it would take much cheating of the English revenue to make up for Darien.

Industry and Trade.

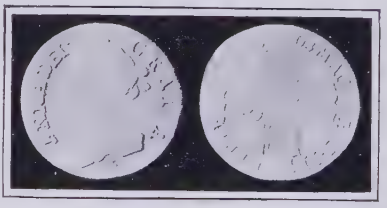
The great awakening of industrial energy produced the Bank of Scotland (1695) and the African Company (1698–1700). There had been nothing like it since the schoolmastering days of James VI. Even the Cromwellian troubles were not unfavourable to business, for the country then enjoyed a brief spell of free trade. But the Restoration withered up every energy save that of persecution. The Revolution stimulated enterprise; the Union gave it scope. But the difficulties ahead were considerable. For three centuries the English claim of suzerainty had blighted national growth, and this was followed by a century of protest against English dictation in Church matters. The final struggle for a share in imperial expansion and trade is the story of the eighteenth century. The trading companies, sanctioned by the Scottish Parliament (1695), began the industrial war. To a London Scot, William Paterson, was due the first-fruits of this measure, the African Company, ruined at the outset by its luckless Darien venture. The scheme possessed the nation like a mania. The enthusiasm was like that which signed the National Covenant. The same year saw the Bank of Scotland started with the assistance of Holland, an English merchant. Banking business was confined to Edinburgh, for country merchants had so little owing

WILLIAM PATERSON.
(*MS. Add.* 10,403.)

in the capital that exchange was impracticable. Defoe says there were no gold coins current or to be seen, except a few preserved for their antiquity. Silver was so general that *siller* became the common name for money. Copper was at a very low ebb. When called in (1738) it was nearly worn out of existence. Scarcity of small coin was a frequent complaint. Much was now tried to develop the natural resources of the country. An exaggerated notion of its mineral wealth prevailed. The Dutch still secured the spoils of the deep-sea fishing, to the disgust of Defoe and of all patriots. But the shameful treatment of the salt industry did far more harm. The wasteful destruction of salmon was ruining an ancient source of wealth. The cattle trade of Galloway was growing, so that there were petitions for new roads to regulate the traffic. A significant feature, too, was the rise of markets on the Highland border. Macky gives a most interesting account of a great cattle fair he witnessed at Crieff, shortly after the Union. In other directions Government interference was pernicious and bewildering in its action. The trade with France was cut off, causing, in the restricting of the wine import, a change in the national habits. A cordon was drawn round the south-west coasts to prohibit importation from Ireland. In 1701, not three years after a period of starvation, there was an order that all grain from Ireland must be staved and sunk. With equal unwisdom the import of luxuries was forbidden, as tending to deplete the country of its currency. The native manufactures developed very slowly. While the export of wool and hides was forbidden, the weaving of woollens was crushed by the inrush of English goods after 1707. The industry languished



SCOTTISH PISTOLE OF 1701.



THE LAST SCOTTISH COIN: A SIXPENCE.

until the quite modern development of tweeds, tartans, and carpets. The only really vigorous woollen staple was the stocking trade, created and maintained by the enterprise of Aberdeen. On the other hand, linen continued to be a flourishing and characteristic industry. Among new industries the period witnessed the secure establishment of glass-making at Leith, paper-making on the Water of Leith and at Cathcart, and sugar refining at Glasgow. Here, also, after 1707, the tobacco trade led the way to fortune. Hitherto there had been little smoking, snuffing being preferred. Morer says

BEGGAR'S BADGE AND COLLAR OF A CRIMINAL, 1701.
(*National Museum of Scottish Antiquities, Edinburgh.*)

many would fast rather than lose their *sneeshin* of tobacco, mostly of the coarsest, dried by the fire and powdered in a tap or mill carried in the pocket. Altogether, despite the fact that the Darien Company had to employ Dutch ships, a brisk contraband trade and a general beating up of subscriptions for the deepening of harbours gave evidence of the beginnings of commerce.

State of the Country.

More than Glencoe and Darien fought against King William's popularity in Scotland. The closing years of his reign were long remembered as *the hungry years*. Never before had the land been so scourged by famine and pestilence. An army of unfortunates, said to be 200,000 in number, the product of chronic thriftlessness and repeated bad seasons, preyed upon their impoverished neighbours. Fletcher of Saltoun, familiar with the condition of collier labour in East Lothian, recommended a general return to the serfdom there prevailing. His plan neither shocked nor attracted. It had long been a familiar device with the Privy Council to encourage trade and repress vagabondage by authorising the confiscation of pauper labour in return

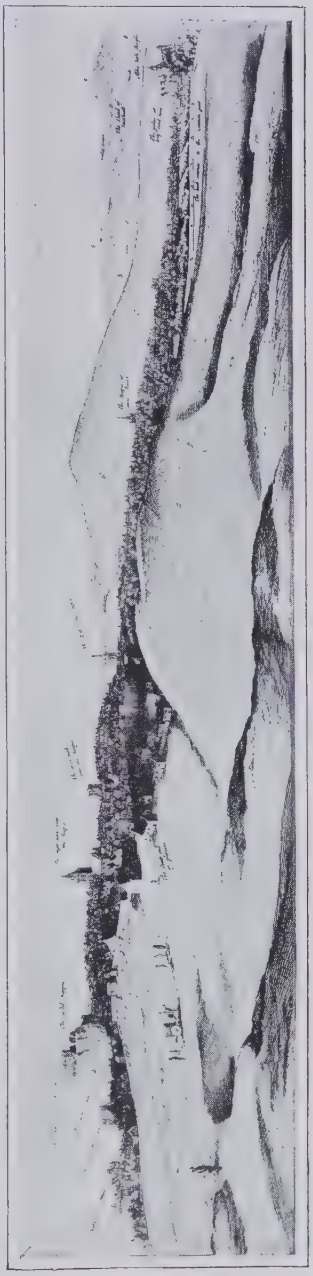
for food and clothing. The burghs were busied during the bad years protecting themselves against social waifs. Constables were appointed to register the poor of the town, provide badges for them, and "lay themselves out for freeing of the burgh and keeping furth thairof all vagroms." American captains gladly shipped away the poor to the plantations, and merchants drove a brisk trade in jail deliveries for the same destination. Fletcher advised that some thousands of the worst rascals, called *jockies*, should be presented to Venice to serve in the galleys against the Moors. To encourage medical science such lunatics as were worth a better fate

THE OLD PARLIAMENT HOUSE, EDINBURGH.
(*De Wit, "Theatrum Præcipuarum Totius Europæ Urbium," c.* 1690.)

than scourging were committed to the care and taming of chirurgeons. The numerous quacks were allowed to set up a stage on the street for medical practice, and attempt novel and difficult surgery on the poor. The influence of Harvey and Sydenham, however, was spreading. Sir Andrew Balfour (1630–94) introduced dissection of the human body. Dr. Andrew Brown visited Sydenham (1687), and learned under him. In 1691 he procured a licence to print an account of the New Cure of Fevers. The goat-whey cure, too, was showing invalids the value of country air. In 1699 we find George Turnbull, minister at Alloa, betaking himself to Aberfoyle for this treatment, and an interesting picture he sketches of the social condition of the Macgregor country just before the advent of Rob Roy. News spread slowly,

filtered through gazettes and coffee-house keepers. It was much hampered by Government interference and the absence of roads and bridges. Many attempts had been made to establish postal communication. Just before the Union the service was beginning to meet its expenses, but, save for a horse-post between Berwick and Edinburgh, letters were carried by foot-runners and special messengers. Before the Revolution a system of street hackneys was set up in Edinburgh, but chairs were preferred until the extension of the city increased the distances to be travelled. The street caddies, or porters, formed a unique feature of city life. The regulations of 1714 prescribe a badge apron of blue linen, the duties being to cry gazettes, sell flowers, carry links, and run errands. Changes of fashion were beginning to tell. After the revolution the craft of the bonnet-makers had disappeared, and that of the hatters taken its place. Even Stirling, near the close of the period, forms a new incorporation of the barbers "since the art of barberising or periwig-making is being more heard of."

Social life flowed on in two well-marked channels, the Whig Presbyterian and the Jacobite Episcopal. The former intensified the grave Puritanism of Covenanting times; the latter preserved the Restoration traditions. The



EDINBURGH FROM THE SOUTH.
(*De Wit, "Theatrum Præcipuarum Totius Europæ Urbium," c.* 1690.)

Jacobites asserted patriotism and principles in conviviality which imitated that of Ranelagh and Vauxhall. The tavern did duty for the coffee-house. Here doctors and lawyers met their clients during the day; and the wit and the idler, after a modest supper and mild potations, groped their way out of some dingy tap-room to the sound of the ten o'clock drum, threading slowly the narrow lane and the dimly-lighted street, silent but redolent of the waste of the day. Few houses had as yet a decent sitting-room that did not serve as a bedroom also. The mid-day meal was too serious to provide social entertainment, and the tea-table or *four hours* had scarcely taken a hold. Leith Links formed the great play-ground, and there or on the way thither amusement was found in horse-racing and cock-fighting. At nearer distance time-honoured amusements like tennis, golf, bowling, archery divided attention with such novelties as the assembly, the concert, and the play. But the mass of the people were more than ever notable for gravity of manners of the dour type drawn in "Davie Deans." The house-father sat at table covered and apart, seldom joined in social converse, rarely unbent to the young. Never was the national story so rich in colour and varied human interest, or so vividly depicted as in the verse of Allan Ramsay, and the shrewd and close observation of Morer, Macky, and Defoe.

Culture and Education.

The increased English influence after 1707 rapidly affected not only manners but education. The close of the period was notable for the beginnings of the great literary revival in which Ramsay's "Evergreen" played as prominent a part as did Percy's "Reliques" in ushering in the romantic movement. Jacobite sentiment and satire opened up new sources of popular song. Grave prose had two solid names in Leighton and Burnet. Pitcairn, a light Horatian wit, was much admired by contemporaries. The two Gregorys introduced the Newtonian philosophy. David Gregory (1661-1708) was the first Scot to storm the charmed citadel of Oxford, where he was Savilian Professor in 1692. Ruddiman revived the erudition of Buchanan, whose editor he was. But the most notable advance of the time was the laudable effort of the Presbyterian Church, in 1696, to plant elementary schools, which were now to be treated by the law as a duty

and burden imposed upon the heritors of every parish. In the larger and more sparsely populated districts, however, the Act failed to take effect.

P. W. JOYCE. Ireland.

It is estimated that in the time of Charles II. the Catholics of Ireland numbered 800,000, including both Old Irish and Old English; the Nonconformists, including Presbyterians, 200,000; and the Established Church Protestants 100,000. One of Charles's first measures was to restore the Established Church in Ireland; and now the Presbyterians were subjected to severe persecution under the Act of Uniformity, with the object of forcing them to conform. They resisted determinedly to the last; but great numbers, unwilling to bear the terrible religious hardships, sold out their property and emigrated to New England. During this time the Catholics, through the intervention of the King, were treated with leniency. But the respite was short; and the Titus Oates plot in England (1678) intensified the suspicion and hostility of the Government. Proclamations against them came in quick succession, and they passed through a period of great suffering. It was during this evil time, while the Titus Oates fever still convulsed the kingdom, that Dr. Oliver Plunket, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Armagh, was tried in London and executed on false testimony.

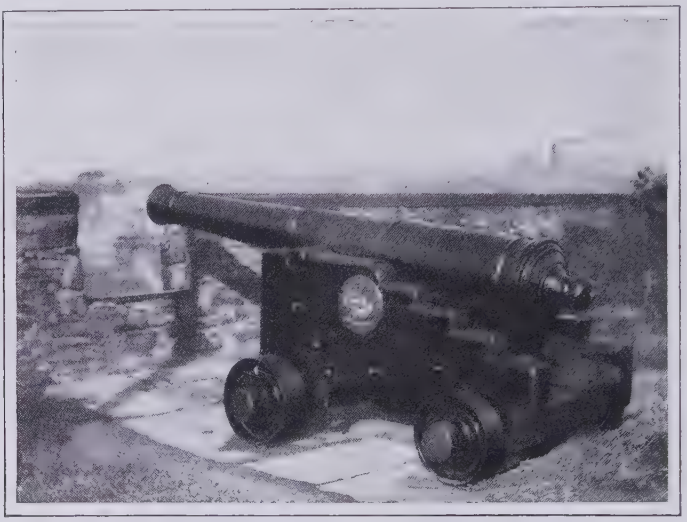
The War of the Revolution.

The alarm created among the Protestants by the accession of James II. was greatly increased by the measures taken to restore Catholicity. The Earl of Tirconnell, a strict Roman Catholic, was sent over as commander of the forces, and immediately proceeded to disarm the Protestant militia, to appoint Catholic officers in the army, and to place Catholics in many other important positions. His appointment as lord-lieutenant a little later on created quite a panic; and, in the midst of rumours and alarms, William landed in England.

Tirconnell proceeded to take possession of the principal strong places through the country; but the Protestants of Ulster prepared for resistance; and the people of Enniskillen and Derry closed their gates and refused to admit the Jacobite soldiers. James had fled to France immediately on William's arrival in England, but he soon after landed in Ireland with many French and Irish officers. Among the

Siege of Derry.

latter was Patrick Sarsfield, afterwards Earl of Lucan. The Jacobite forces laid siege to Derry, but met with a most obstinate resistance. Several attempts to storm were repulsed, and at last the besiegers sat down to reduce the town by blockade. They surrounded it completely on the land side, and ingress by water was prevented by a great boom stretched across the river below the town. Yet in spite of all privations the brave garrison stood resolutely to their



ROARING MEG AND OLD BATTLEMENTS, LONDONDERRY

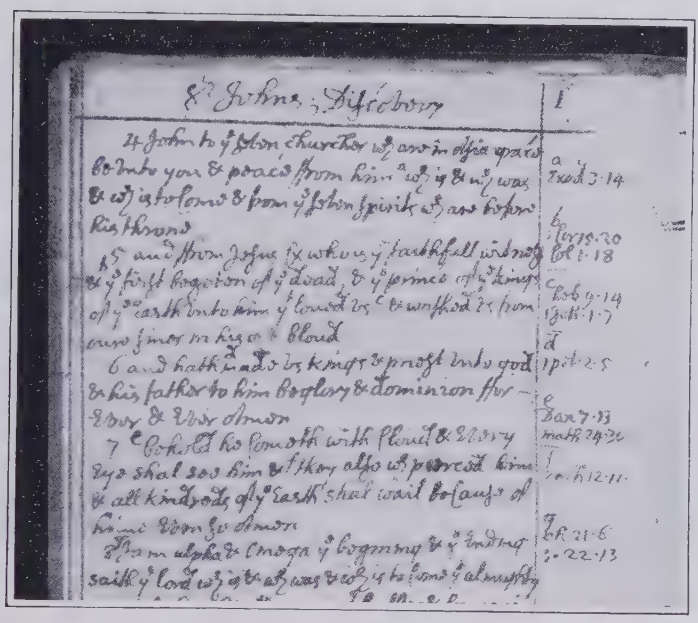
posts; till at length three provision ships, coming up the river full sail, crashed through the boom and relieved the town on the 31st July, 1689, after a memorable siege of 105 days.

Battle of the Boyne.

This was the first action of the struggle; the next was at the Boyne. King William, with the Duke of Schomberg, took up his position on the north bank of the river with a well-equipped army of 40,000 men; on the south bank James had posted his army of 26,000, largely composed of recruits, badly armed and badly drilled. At their head was a spiritless and irresolute king, while the opposing army was led by William, one of the best generals of the time. Yet under these great disadvantages, the Irish contested

the field valiantly for a whole day—1st July, 1690—and when at last forced to yield they retreated south in good order. The valiant old Schomberg was shot dead while crossing the river at the head of his men. King James fled from the field before the end of the battle, and went straight to France.

The Irish now concentrated their forces in Limerick. King William encamped before the walls with about 26,000



THE NEW TESTAMENT DISGUISED.
(*The Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.*)

men, while the city was defended by an equal number only half armed. And now began another famous siege. A great train of artillery and ammunition was on its way from Dublin; but Sarsfield, by a bold dash, contrived to intercept and overpower the convoy, and blew up the whole train. The king, having procured another supply, made a wide breach in the wall, through which rushed a storming party supported in the rear by 10,000 men. But they were resisted with great determination, the townsmen, and even the women, joining

Siege of Limerick.

eagerly in the struggle with whatever weapons came next to hand. In the midst of the confusion a battery exploded and blew up a whole Williamite regiment. This fierce hand-to-hand fight lasted for four hours, till at length the assailants fled in confusion through the breach. They had lost over 2,000 men in the assault; and King William, having witnessed the repulse of his best men, raised the siege on the 31st of August, and returned to England, leaving General de Ginkel in command.

In the following year, 1691, De Ginkel attacked Athlone,

SITE OF THE BATTLE OF THE BOYNE.

Closing Scenes of the War.

where he was at first repulsed, but soon after took the place by stratagem. After this the Irish army, led by the French General St. Ruth, fell back on the village of Aughrim, in Galway, where they were attacked by De Ginkel. At first the Irish had the best of the fight, but towards evening St. Ruth was killed, which lost them the day. The last stand was made at Limerick, which was defended against De Ginkel with great obstinacy by Sarsfield. But now both parties were anxious to make an end of the war, and terms of surrender were agreed on and signed. The treaty was afterwards confirmed by King William.

The chief articles of the Treaty of Limerick were these:— The Catholics were to have the same religious freedom as they had in the time of Charles II., and they were not to be required to take the Oath of Supremacy. The garrison had honourable conditions, and any who wished to go abroad were to be conveyed free in English ships. Under this last condition, Sarsfield, and more than 20,000 of his men, went to Brest and entered the French service. They formed the nucleus of the "Irish Brigade," which was subsequently much distinguished in the Continental wars. **Treaty of Limerick.**

There was now another confiscation, the last of a long series since the accession of Mary. These included very nearly the whole island; and some districts were confiscated twice, some even three times. The final result was that only a seventh of the land of all Ireland remained in the hands of the Catholics. **Confiscation.**

The small Protestant population of Ireland had now the entire government of the country in their hands; they owned by far the greatest part of the land, and they held nearly all positions of influence. In order to secure these great privileges to themselves and their descendants for ever, they entered on a course of unprecedented legislation, with the main object of crushing the Catholics and extirpating the Catholic religion; but some of the provisions were subsequently brought to bear heavily on Protestant Dissenters, chiefly Presbyterians. Before the end of the seventeenth century there had been many penal enactments against the Irish, but they were intermittent, and for various reasons not very consistently carried out. But for nearly a century, beginning with the year 1695, there was a series of crushing enactments, specially directed against Catholics, which were enforced as far as lay in the power of the Government to enforce them. The main provisions of the whole penal code, including some already in existence, with the "Popery Act" of Queen Anne, and a few enactments of the time of George II., may be briefly summarised as follows: **Protestants and Catholics.**

In 1695 the English Parliament, ignoring the Irish Parliament altogether, passed an Act which abrogated the Oath of Supremacy in Ireland, but substituted something very much worse, by requiring all members of Parliament, bishops, **The Penal Laws.**

Government officers, and professional men of every kind, to take an oath of Abjuration—abjuring and denying the essential doctrines of the Catholic religion. This, so far as it could be carried out, would exclude Catholics from all positions of any consequence in Ireland, civil, military, and ecclesiastical. In the same year the Irish Parliament met, and in the two sessions of 1695 and 1697 passed a series of Acts completing the work begun in England, all in direct violation of the Treaty of Limerick. Nearly all the subsequent penal legislation was the work of successive Irish Parliaments.

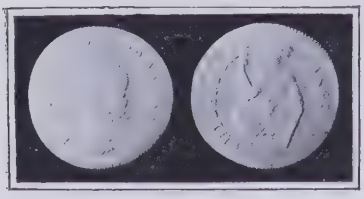
Catholic schoolmasters were forbidden to teach school or to teach scholars in private houses; and parents were forbidden to send their children to any foreign country to be educated; so that Catholics were debarred from education altogether so far as the law could go. The existing parochial Catholic clergy were to be registered, and were to give security for good behaviour. All other religious of every rank—bishops, Jesuits, friars, monks, and all "regular" clergy—were commanded to quit the kingdom, and rewards were offered for the discovery of any that remained, the amount to be levied off Catholics; those who quitted and returned were guilty of high treason—penalty death. All persons to attend Protestant worship on Sundays, under a fine of one shilling (more than ten shillings of present money). A priest who turned Protestant to get a pension of £30; no Catholic church to have steeple or bells. All Catholics were to be disarmed (with a few insignificant exceptions), and magistrates were empowered to break into the houses of Catholics to search for arms. If a Catholic had a valuable horse, any Protestant might take possession of it by tendering £5. If the eldest son of a Catholic turned Protestant, he became the owner of his father's land. If any other son conformed, he was put in charge of a Protestant guardian, and the father had to pay all expenses. No person could practise as a lawyer who had not been a Protestant since fourteen years of age. No Catholic could purchase land, or accept land left him by will; or could take a lease for more than thirty-one years. Catholics were rendered incapable of voting at any sort of election.

Some of these provisions, notably the Test Act (requiring the reception of the Sacrament, according to the English rite, as a condition of eligibility for important positions), were brought to bear on the Presbyterians of Ulster, who suffered a bitter, though short, persecution. But their sufferings were trifling compared with those of Catholics. The Presbyterians Suffer.

It was the governing classes who made these terrible laws; the general body of Protestants, whether Irish or English, had no hand in them. On the contrary, the popular Protestant conscience in Ireland revolted against them, which greatly mitigated their severity; and hundreds of cases are on record where Protestants made fictitious purchases of their Catholic neighbours' property and kept it faithfully for generations—secretly handing over the proceeds meantime—till the relaxation of the law enabled land and title-deeds to be restored. And numberless similar instances of secret protection of Catholics by their Protestant neighbours from direct religious persecution are recorded.

The penal laws hitherto spoken of mainly affected Catholics, and to a much less extent Presbyterians. But there was another penal code—a series of enactments for the ruin of Irish manufacturers and commerce—which affected the whole people of Ireland. They injured Protestants more directly and more heavily than Catholics, for the former had most of the leading industries in their hands, the Catholics at this time being so crushed by law as to be barely able to live. Their restrictions were brought about by the jealousy and selfishness of English traders, manufacturers, and graziers, who, to enrich themselves, ruined Irish industries and impoverished the Irish people. Most of the measures were the work of the English Parliament; but the Parliament of Ireland—under direction from the other side—passed some of the worst. Restrictions on Irish Industry.

The following are some of the main provisions of this destructive legislation:—In the years 1663 and 1666 certain modifications of the Navigation Act of 1660 were made, with the result that all export from Ireland to the colonies was forbidden, as was also the import of Irish cattle into England. Fearful distress all over Ireland was the immediate result, for the people could find no market for their farm produce. The



LIMERICK HALFPENNY.

wool trade had gradually recovered the repressive measures of Wentworth (p. 273) and was beginning to flourish. Whereupon the English traders petitioned King William to repress it; who, in reply, promised to discourage the Irish wool trade, to encourage the Irish linen trade (which could do no harm to any English manufacturer), and to promote the trade of England. The Irish Parliament was made the instrument this time: under the influence of the English authorities they put prohibitive export duties on Irish wool and woollen goods, which accomplished all the English petitioners desired; it ruined the wool trade, and caused destitution everywhere. About 40,000 industrious thriving Protestant workmen—with of course many others—were immediately reduced to idleness and poverty, and 20,000 of them emigrated to New England. Another result was an enormous development of smuggling mainly carried on with France, both of exports (chiefly wool) and of imports, in which people of all classes and all religions were actively engaged, and which continued for generations in spite of the efforts of Government to suppress it. Subsequently almost all branches of Irish industry—iron and tin-ware, gunpowder, hats, silk, cotton, beer, malt, etc.—were interfered with and ruined by Act of Parliament.

It is always hard, and often impossible, to revive an extinguished industry; and when, long subsequently, all these restrictions were removed the relief came too late.

SIEGE PIECE OF JAMES II.

AUTHORITIES, 1689-1714.

GENERAL HISTORY.

The constitutional side of the history is best followed in Hallam, supplemented by Anson, *Law and Custom of the Constitution*. Macaulay, Burnet, and Lecky illustrate the domestic history of the reign of William III., while Ranke's *History of England* gives the best account of the European aspects of the Revolution, and of England's foreign policy after 1686. For the reign of Anne the works of Wyon, Stanhope, and Burton are admirable. *See* also Parnell, *Life of Peterborough;* and Elliot, *Life of Godolphin*. Swift, *History of the Last Four Years of Queen Anne's Reign* and *Conduct of the Allies* are excellent specimens of the party literature of the time. Bolingbroke's *Letters* are indispensable for a thorough knowledge of the reign. Martin, *Histoire de France;* Courcy, *La Coalition de* 1701; and Mahan, *Influence of Sea Power on History*, throw light upon the considerations influencing English foreign policy during the War of the Spanish Succession.

SPECIAL SUBJECTS.

Finance, etc.—The best contemporary evidence is to be found in the Journals of Parliament and the notes of the Debates, supplemented by the despatches of L'Hermitage to the States General, and by Bonnet's despatches (published as an appendix to Ranke, *History of England*), and by Narcissus Luttrell, *Brief Historical Relation* (6 vols., Clarendon Press); Burnet, *History of His Own Times* (ed. Airy); Davenant *Ways and Means;* Evelyn, *Diary;* Houghton, *Tables* (selections in Thorold Rogers's *History of the First Nine Years of the Bank of England*). There is a great mass of contemporary pamphlets and newspapers throwing light on the commercial and financial history of the period. Many are republished in the *Collection of State Tracts*. Besides Macaulay's and Ranke's Histories, the most useful modern books are: Cunningham, *English Industry and Commerce;* Dowell, *History of Taxes and Taxation;* Bruce, *East India Company;* Ruding, *Annals of the Coinage;* Thorold Rogers, *History of Prices*, vol. v., and *First Nine Years of the Bank of England;* W. A. Shaw, *Select Tracts and Documents Illustrative of English Monetary History*, 1626-1739.

Religion.—The works of Baxter and Bunyan; Burnet, *History of His Own Times;* Walton, *Lives*, and the various memoirs of the chief Churchmen of the day. Among modern works those of Ranke and Macaulay in especial; also Lathbury, *History of the Nonjurors;* Overton, *The English Church*, 1660-1714, and *The Nonjurors*, 1903.

Warfare.—Walton, *History of the British Standing Army;* Marlborough, *Life and Letters*, by Murray; also the *Lives* of him by Cox, Sir D. Alison, and Lord Wolseley; Kane, *Systems of Camp Discipline;* D'Auvergne, *Campaign of the Spanish Netherlands.*

Naval History.—As in c. xiv. *Law, Architecture and Art, Science, Manufactures, and Public Health.*—As in c. xv.

Literature.—*See* list appended to c. xv.; also Macaulay, *Essay on Addison;* Thackeray, *English Humourists;* Craik, *Life of Swift;* Aitken, *Life of Steele;* Monographs in *English Men of Letters*, and *Great Writers* Series.

Social Life.—Evelyn, *Diary, Correspondence;* Pepys, *Correspondence;* Burnet *History of His Own Times;* Chamberlayne, *State of England;* Spence, *Anecdotes;* Seward, *Anecdotes;* Ashton, *Social Life in the Reign of Queen Anne, History of Lotteries;* Ballard, *Learned Women;* Duke of Manchester, *Court and Society from Elizabeth to Anne;* Andrews, *The Eighteenth Century;* Misson, *Travels;* Le Blanc, *Travels;* Works of Addison, Defoe, Pope, Swift, etc., and *Letters* of Lady Mary Wortley Montague; Craik, *Life of Swift;* Wilson, *Memoirs of the Life and Times of Defoe;* Wright, *Life of Daniel Defoe;* Lee, *Defoe's Life and Recently Discovered Writings;* Thomas Brown, *Works;* Thackeray, *Esmond;* the *Guardian, Observator, Review, Spectator, Tatler*—London; Malcolm, *Manners of London;* Gay, *Trivia;* Ward, *London Spy. Court Life.*—Jesse, *The Court After the Revolution;* Stanhope, *Queen Anne;* Strickland, *Queens of England;* Sheppard, *St. James's Palace;* Coke, *Court and State of England.*

Scotland.—Besides some of the works mentioned in c. xv., additional material is to be found in the *Lockhart Papers*, *Caldwell Papers;* Fletcher of Saltoun, *Discourses on Public Affairs;* Wodrow, *Analecta;* Patrick Walker, *Life of Peden;* Defoe, *Caledonia: a Poem*, and *History of the Union. Contemporary Travel.*—Martin, *Western Isles* and *St. Kilda;* Edmund Calamy, *Life and Times* (for a visit to Edinburgh in 1709); Macky, *Journey Through Scotland*, 1723 (he was a Hanoverian secret agent, whose work is very useful); Defoe's *Tour Through Great Britain*, 1724-27 (scarce; Scotland occupies three letters in vol. iii. The 5th ed. [1753] usually quoted, is a compilation based on the earlier work).

Ireland, 1661-1714.—*See* list appended to c. xiv.; also Prendergast, *Ireland from the Restoration to the Revolution;* the *Histories* by Mageoghan, McGee, Mitchel, and Wright; *Two Centuries of Irish History*, ed. Bryce; Dunbar Ingram, *Two Chapters of Irish History;* Hutchinson, *Commercial Restraints of Ireland;* Swift McNeill, *English Interference with Irish Industries;* O'Callaghan, *History of the Irish Brigade.*

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